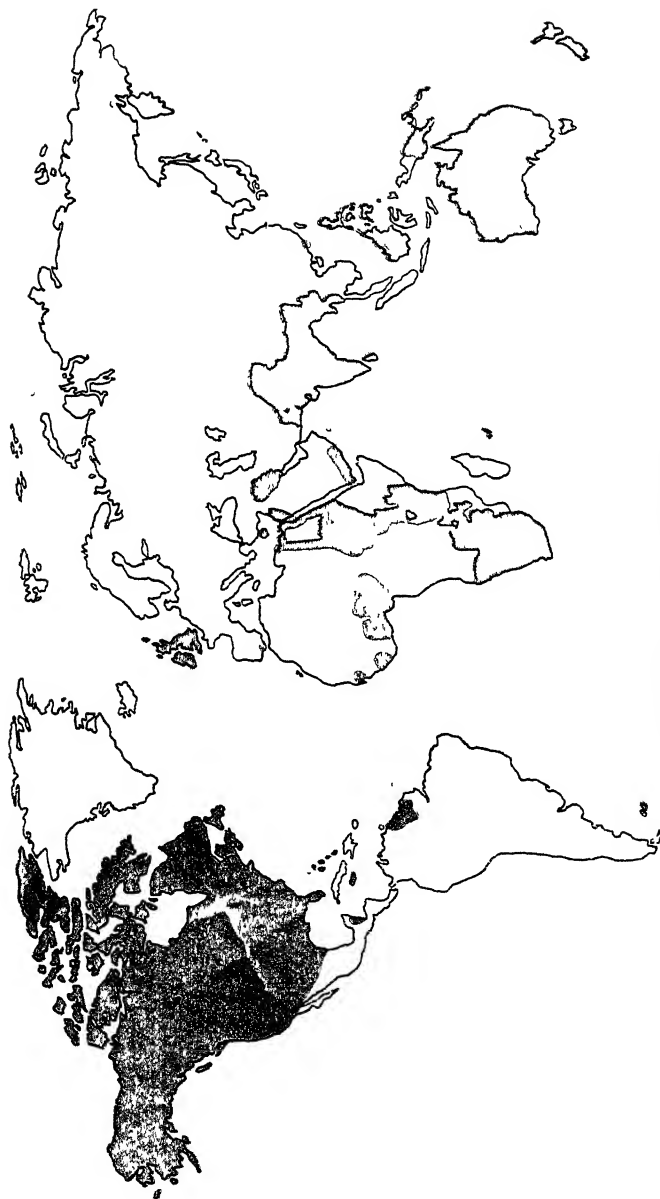


THE GENESIS AND GROWTH OF ENGLISH



THE EMPIRE OF ENGLISH

THE GENESIS AND GROWTH OF ENGLISH

A Philological Sketch for Indian Students

BY

J. S. ARMOUR, M.A.

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TO

MY WIFE

PREFACE

THIS book has been written and is designed to meet the needs of Indian students who study the history of the English language as part of their English literature course. Naturally, the *New English Dictionary* (Oxford) and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (13th Edition) have been laid under contribution, and acknowledgement to these monumental works is gratefully made. Inspired by the *Encyclopædia* it was easy to stray into the regions of ethnology and pre-history; but the limits of the book precluded more than the most fugitive references to the Cretan, the Mohenjo-Daro, and other little-known civilizations of prehistoric times, upon whose shores the wave of Indo-European expansion broke, although some use was made of Myers's attractive *Dawn of History* in the Home University Series. The contributions to the subject of the eminent English philologists, Sweet, Skeat, Bradley, Emerson, Chadwick, Wyld, etc., have been of great value. Since, however, the average Indian student does not possess an inherited knowledge of English and its background of history, it has been found expedient to present certain historical aspects in somewhat fuller detail. For obvious reasons recourse has been had also to foreign writers on the subject, their point of view being rather more detached; and sincere acknowledgement must be made to the excellent works of the Danish philologist Jespersen, and to the modern school of French philologists. Of these latter, the studies of Bréal, Vendryes and Huchon have been of very great

assistance , while Meillet's invaluable works on Indo-European philology have been a constant source of inspiration, the more so because they are not, so far as the writer is aware, accessible to the Indian student in English translations. Finally, since this sketch has been compiled from notes of lectures delivered, modified and enlarged during a dozen years of teaching the subject, it has not been possible always to identify specific sources of help , and it is therefore hoped that this general but sincere acknowledgement of indebtedness will be accepted

J.S.A.

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CHAPTER I

THE FORMAL LANGUAGE TYPES

1. Introductory. The term which is usually employed to denote the study of language is PHILOLOGY ; or, to put it in different words, PHILOLOGY is that branch of knowledge which deals with human speech. Other terms which we meet with, but less generally, are LINGUISTICS, THE SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE, etc

The study of Philology has two aspects ; we may study a language in order to find out facts about the customs, institutions and circumstances of the people who spoke or speak it ; and we may, on the other hand, investigate the expression. In other words, we may concentrate our research upon what the language says, or upon how it is said. In these pages we are concerned chiefly with the mode of expression of the English language from its earliest forms ; but it will be necessary on occasion to glance at the other aspect of the investigation.

If we carry our research a little further, and institute an inquiry into the relationship, structure and parallel development of languages, then we come to another branch of the subject, COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY, which is in large measure the product of nineteenth century investigation, and is the source of our knowledge of the genesis of English.

2. Language : its variety. It is very difficult to say definitely whether there was one original language or many, since modern research has proved that language is far older as a human institution than had been formerly supposed, and that there has been time and to spare for original linguistic resemblances to be obliterated entirely. This

will be appreciated the more easily if we remember that such distinct and individual languages as Sanskrit and Latin have yet demonstrably close linguistic kinship ; or that French, a tongue eminently idiomatic, national, and characteristic of the French nation, was not very long ago Latin. To most students the differences appear to be rather more striking than the resemblances.

There are, in fact, few human institutions so liable to change as language, and the reasons for this will be examined later (see para. 70) As regards its origin, the most acceptable theory seems to be that there were prehistoric languages corresponding to great prehistoric civilizations, and that out of these developed the languages of the world. As against this theory, however, there is the evident fact that comparative philology is establishing the possibility of the ancient relationship of languages and language groups hitherto held to be unconnected. For example, the results of modern research tend to prove that the languages of the Mediterranean-Eurasian area : Indo-European, Semitic, Hamitic, Ural-Altaic, South Caucasian, and ancient dialects of the Mediterranean littoral such as Lycian, Etruscan, Basque, are members of a very old group, which might be termed the *Eurafrasicaspian* family, although so far the relationships defy definite proof.

What is certain is that the number of languages, whatever their origin, is not increasing but rather diminishing steadily. If we are bold to deny the teaching of the Bible, and to maintain that the world did not begin with one original speech, yet it cannot but be admitted that we appear to be travelling in the direction of one surviving tongue. Within historical times Latin, Sanskrit, Gothic, Cornish, Prussian, Etruscan—to name but a few—have ceased to be spoken tongues. Many more languages are in process of extinction, such as the dialects of the Celtic group, and some of the vernaculars in America, India, Africa, and elsewhere, despite the efforts, patriotic, cultural or sentimental, to preserve them. As for those which survive,

they reveal every variety of structure and every stage of development. Their classification is our immediate concern.

3. **Classification of languages.** Languages have ordinarily been classified in two ways. One is the *Formal* classification, where they are grouped according to the way in which the words are placed to convey the idea. The other is the *Genetic* classification, where they are grouped according to families of related languages. From the first we learn to recognize the four well-known divisions of languages: *Isolative, Inflective, Agglutinative, Incorporative*. The other has given us the Indo-European, Semitic, Dravidian, and other great families. The Formal types may be glanced at first.

4. **The Isolative type.** In a language of this type each word is a monosyllable, and not divisible into parts of separate significance. It is an integral sign, to be used wherever the radical idea is wanted; and it has the value of one part of speech or another according to the connexion in which it stands to its neighbours. Severely logical, our best example of it is the tongue of that ancient people the Chinese, where all formal distinction of parts of speech, all derivation, all inflection are lacking. The words are simply strung one after the other. Less perfect examples of the type are Tibetan, Burmese, and Siamese.

One may perhaps discern in modern English a tendency towards this isolative characteristic. For example, the monosyllable *love* is usable wherever the radical idea is wanted; with the value of a noun, as in *Love* is life; of a verb, as in *Love* thy neighbour; and of an adjective, as in *Love-letter, Love-song, Love-bird*. The great dramatist Shakespeare, a law to himself in matters of expression, provides us with even more remarkable instances of the same tendency. He does not hesitate to use the integral sign as noun, verb, or other part of speech, when he has need of that particular radical idea. Thus, in *Antony and Cleopatra* the Queen says of the Roman Augustus, 'He

words me, girls : he *words* me ', and again, ' Some squeaking Cleopatra *boy* my greatness '. In *Richard II* York exclaims, ' *Grace* me no grace, and *uncle* me no uncles '. From *Hamlet* may be selected the famous ' to *out-Herod* Herod ', and the less familiar ' So *neighbour'd* to his youth and humour '. Every one remembers ' *But* me no buts '.

Examples are not lacking in modern English popular speech, although it is more easily traceable in the American dialect. When an English lady in India, awaiting her evening guests, asks her husband to ' *flit* the room, dear ', it is not at first easy to understand that she is merely requesting him to spray it with a vapoury insecticide which the inventor has named *Flit*. A course of American ' talkies ' will convince us that the dialect of English which is being evolved by the cosmopolitan and polyglot population of the United States is tending towards the use of the word in all cases as an integral sign, without respect of part of speech. We are assured by American writers themselves that sentences like the following are part and parcel of the colloquial speech of many citizens of the United States : ' Him and me has went home frequent ', a hideously ungrammatical collection of integral signs with inflexion eliminated entirely. More familiar, perhaps, are such phrases as ' Give him the *once over* ' : ' O.K. this message, chief ' : ' Where's the *eats* ' : ' *Page* Mr. Smith in room 23, please ' : ' Watch the *jane* ', etc., etc.

5. The Inflective type. The term *inflective* is used to define those languages in which the root and the formative parts, such as prefixes and suffixes, are fused, and also those in which the work of grammatical distinction is done by internal change. In such languages the word indicates by its form its relation to the main proposition ; and three divisions may be distinguished :

- (a) those which prefix the grammatical parts,
- (b) those which change the stem,
- (c) those which add suffixes.

The Indo-European languages belong chiefly to (c), but there are, of course, examples of both the others.

Examples of (a) :

(i) the prefix *ge-* (becoming *y-*) in certain Germanic languages to denote the past participle, e g *yclept*,

(ii) duplication to denote the preterite, e g. *cecini* (Latin, I sang) . *dedi* (Latin, I gave).

Examples of (b) :

(i) the conjugation of strong verbs, e g *sing, sang, sung* : *ride, rode, ridden*,

(ii) change of vowel to denote plural : *man, men* : *mouse, mice* ; *goose, geese*.

Examples of (c) :

(i) the present indicative of the verb in English, Latin, French, e g.

I love	amo	j'aime
thou lovest	amas	tu aimes
he loves	amat	il aime
we love	amamus	nous aimons
you love	amatis	vous aimez
they love	amant	ils aiment

(ii) the comparison of adjectives, e g. *white, whiter, whitest* ; *black, blacker, blackest*

6. The Agglutinative type. As with the *inflective* type the *agglutinative* languages prefix or affix to the principal word syllables expressing grammatical relations. Where there is, however, complete fusion between the parts the former term is preferred, leaving *agglutinative* to define those languages in which the different parts are discernible or traceable. Finnish, Hungarian and the languages of North Asia are examples of this type.

7. The Incorporative type. In this type of language the accessory words are inserted within the verbal members

of the sentence, or attached to it in abbreviated forms, so that the resultant phrase has the appearance of a single word. The languages of the American Indians provide the best examples of this type, which has also been named the *Polysynthetic* or even the *Holophrastic*. They are usually divided into

- (a) those with a synthetic tendency,
- (b) those with an analytic tendency

Incorporation may be carried out in various ways ; and it is really a device to make possible the expression of a large number of special ideas by using modifications of the stem, prefixes, suffixes, and even infixes. Thus an American Indian could say in one word and one breath, 'He went upwards with him in the dark, and came against an obstacle.'

8. Consideration of these four types. The first thing to remember about these types is that each has phonetic laws which must not be applied outside the group. Verbal identities mean nothing unless they are in conformity with the phonetic laws.

Early in the nineteenth century Bopp, the German philologist (para. 39) set out to prove that the Indo-European inflexional system was based upon an earlier agglutination. He examined the personal terminations of the Indo-European verb and sought to identify them with the personal pronouns. Thus we have

mam, me : and *bhava-mi*, I am ,
tam, him : and *bhava-ti*, he is.

Bopp worked out his theory in great detail, and was convinced that the Indo-European inflections were originally ancient words with their own value and their own individual existence. Although philologists think that Bopp was wrong, it is yet permissible to argue that the evolution of language is a movement from the Holophrastic

to the Analytic, and that the order of the types is from Incorporative through Agglutinative to Inflective and finally Isolative. It has been demonstrated (see para 3) that the tendency of English is towards the Isolative. This is revealed most strikingly in the complete mixing up of the noun and the verb. Nothing was more clear cut in Indo-European than the distinction between those two parts of speech, but in modern English almost any noun may also be a verb; e g walk, run, sleep, pay, etc, and vice versa.

Researches in the Chinese language appear to lead to the same conclusion, as traces have been found there of an earlier formal development, since extinguished by the same processes of decay as have wiped out in English so many signs of a formal character and brought back to monosyllabism so considerable a part of its vocabulary. Perhaps Chinese is a stage ahead of English in the inevitable evolution of a language. This would agree with the popular modern theory that the square-headed race (*brachycephalic* is the scientific term), of which the Chinese are typical examples, has the largest brain. But while we may admit that the Isolative is the perfectly logical language, yet the nicest precision of expression is in the Inflective languages, and the nations which speak them are, and have been, in the van of civilization.

Perhaps all that we are entitled to say is that clear thinking, expressed in short phrases, is the sign of a civilized people, and that an unwieldy vocabulary is the sign of a primitive folk. Bopp's theory is, at the present stage of linguistic research, incapable of proof. No definite evidence has been adduced, apart from the personal verb terminations; and these may be accident or coincidence. The solution of the problem postulates an acquaintance with pre-Indo-European, and is further complicated by the fact that so many peoples now speak a tongue which is not their own, nor suited to their habits and national genius.

9. A more up-to-date classification. Obviously this morphological classification which we have been discussing leaves much to be desired, since there are Isolative languages with an Inflective tendency, Inflective languages which are becoming Isolative, and so on. It is scarcely scientific to group together in the same category Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, with their complicated inflective systems, and modern tongues like Danish and English, in which almost all traces of inflexion have disappeared. Accordingly Sapir, writing in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Edition 13, suggests that a language should be viewed from four distinct points of view, and should be classified from each of these. Thus we may have

(a) Degree of synthesis.

- (i) Analytic, as Chinese.
- (ii) Weakly Synthetic, as English.
- (iii) Synthetic, as Sanskrit
- (iv) Polysynthetic, as Eskimo.

(b) Manner and degree of welding elements into unities.

- (i) Isolating, as Chinese.
- (ii) Agglutinating, as Turkish.
- (iii) Fusional, as Sanskrit
- (iv) Symbolic, as Semitic (i.e. vocalic and consonantal change and reduplication).

(c) Conceptual : the freedom to derive words from basic elements.

- (i) Non-deriving, as Chinese.
- (ii) Deriving, as English.

(d) Relational : the need or otherwise of outside aids to bring out relational ideas.

- (i) Pure-relational, as Chinese.
- (ii) Mixed-relational, as Latin.

This classification has not the simplicity of the older grouping, but it is certainly more definite. According to it we should define English as a weakly-synthetic-fusional-deriving-mixed-relational language. This is comprehensive, but clumsy for every day use; nor does it rid us of the old overlapping, since English may be fusional and yet also symbolic, at least externally.

CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE FAMILIES

10. The Genetic classification. We are more familiar with the classification into families of languages than with the formal types. Such languages as reveal any evidence of original unity are grouped together, since they are, after all, merely dialectal variations of one original tongue. Where it has not been possible to establish definite relationship, other groups of languages have been formed for the sake of convenience according to contiguity, propinquity, and in similar ways. The science of Philology is not yet advanced sufficiently to be able to group all the languages of the world into families. Accordingly, the following more or less closely related groups are found :

1. Indo-European family.
2. Semitic family
3. Hamitic family.
4. Monosyllabic, or South-Eastern Asiatic family
5. Ural-Altaic (Scythian, Turanian) family.
6. Dravidian, or South-Indian family.
7. Malay-Polynesian family
8. Other Oceanic families.
9. Caucasian families
10. Remnants of other European families.
11. Bantu, or South African family.
12. Central African languages.
13. American languages.

11. The Semitic family. A glance at the above list of so-called families will show clearly that the grouping is convenient rather than scientific. But it will also be

perceived that there are certain definitely established families. Of these, the first, or Indo-European family, is incontestably the most important in the world's history; and it is our special study. Undoubtedly, however, the Semitic group comes second in importance, because its members include Hebrew, Phœnician, Assyrian, Arabic, Syrian and other ancient tongues of western Asia. No one is prepared to belittle the importance of such great languages, whose traditions and literatures have been influential in the progress of civilization. It is to be noted, moreover, that the Semitic languages, like the Indo-European, are inflected, and proofs of a common origin are not entirely lacking, although the linguistic proof is unfortunately the slenderest. In this connexion the verdict of the philologist Sapia, writing in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Edition 13, is of interest. He says —

Hermann Moller's very systematic and detailed attempt to connect Indo-European and Semitic (the relationship of which to Hamitic is now generally recognized), seems not to have been cordially received by either the Indo-Europeanists or the Semitists; but to the general linguist who studies his works, his demonstration seems highly suggestive, not to say convincing.

If this relationship can be established, and philologists have been at work on the problem since Bopp, in 1820, instituted an interesting comparison between Indo-European and Semitic roots, it is a magnificent conception to think that all these great languages, with literatures so abundant, varied, and full of merit: with records not to be surpassed in the world's history, are sprung from the same prehistoric original.

12. The Hamitic family. The members of this family, which is, as has been pointed out, almost certainly related to Semitic, and through it to Indo-European, include Egyptian, Coptic, the Libyan or Berber languages of North

Africa, and the Ethiopic tongues of East Africa. It stirs one equally to think that the language of the ancient Pharaohs, of the builders of the Pyramids and the Sphinx, is related to our own.

13. The Monosyllabic family. The most important language in this family is Chinese, which has literary records going back to 2000 B.C. The others include Tibetan, Burmese, Siamese, Annamese, and the less familiar tongues of south-east Asia. Of these, Tibetan would appear to be the most primitive. They are alike monosyllabic and isolative, or without formal structure; and this similarity of form is in fact the chief proof of their family connexion, since the evidence from corresponding words is insufficient. Convincing proof must be difficult to achieve in languages which lack inflexion, structure, and morphology generally. They are alike, however, in their common possession of *Tones*: i.e. different meanings for a word according as it is uttered in a higher or lower tone, or with a rising or falling inflexion. If one were looking for additional evidence to prove the theory, glanced at in para. 2, of the ancient relationship of families generally held to be unrelated, one might make use of the fact that the Indo-European mother tongue also had *Tones*.

14. The Ural-Altaic family. This family stretches through central and northern Asia to Europe, as far south as the borders of Turkey and westward to the Atlantic in Russia and northern Scandinavia. It has five branches:—

- (i) Tungusian: spoken farthest east, with Manchu and perhaps Japanese.
- (ii) Mongol: spoken in northern China.
- (iii) Turkish or Tartar: its dialects are found from the River Lena in Siberia to Turkey in Europe.
- (iv) Samoyed: spoken from the Altai Mountains to the Asian Arctic Ocean.

- (v) **Finno-Hungarian** · the languages of the Finns, Lapps, certain peoples in north and central Russia, and the people of Hungary

Of these, Turkish is a well developed agglutinative language ; while Finnish and Hungarian are non-inflective, and very probably agglutinative also All the members of this scattered family are linked together by one common characteristic : the harmonic sequence of vowels between root and ending Japanese and Korean, both agglutinative, have been included in the family by some scholars , as also has been Aino, the ancient tongue of Japan Arguments have been adduced to show that the agglutinative languages spoken in Mesopotamia at the dawn of history, e.g. Sumerian and Accadian, belong to it as well ; but the proofs are naturally difficult to find and establish.

15. The Dravidian family. The Dravidian languages were spoken in India at the time of the Indo-European intrusion , in other words, they are the aboriginal tongues of the peninsula. They still persist, chiefly in the south, the Deccan, and Ceylon, while there is a derelict dialect still surviving in Baluchistan. The best-known members are Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayalam. They are all agglutinative, with an inflective tendency, and very musical and mellifluous. All are becoming aryanized. It has been argued with some show of probability that the speech of the aborigines of Australia is also Dravidian. Geologists tell us that far back in Pliocene times a continental land mass stretched from India to Australia, which would account for the Dravidian dispersion.

16. The Caucasian Group. Unlike the preceding groups, which have undoubted family relationship, the Caucasian group has nothing more than geographical unity. The area of the Caucasus mountains appears to have been a natural eddy in all movements of migration ; and linguistically it looks as though it has the remnants of many extinct families. The languages to the north, of which

Circassian is the best known, are unrelated, and the same applies to those in the south, where we find Georgian. Most of the members of the group are apparently inflective; and Bopp was led astray in his endeavour to include them in the Indo-European family.

17. Basque. Basque is a language spoken in the Pyrenees mountains. Surrounded on every side by Indo-European dialects, it is not Indo-European, nor, apparently, is it related to any other language in Europe, or indeed on earth. On its purely grammatical side it has resemblances to the Finno-Hungarian group; it is agglutinative, also incorporative and polysynthetic; but it has a post-positional system of inflexion, while the personal pronouns appear, at least superficially, to be related closely to those of the Semitic and Hamitic languages. The numeral system is by twenties.

Humboldt, an enthusiastic German philologist, evolved the theory, based upon the evidence of geographical names, that the Basque language was originally widely spread through France, Spain, and the Balearic Islands, and that its prehistoric speakers were the ancient Iberians, who had occupied south Europe from Africa, crossing by the Gibraltar land-bridge. If so, then Basque may be linked to Berber, a Hamitic language; and thus we get another indication of a prehistoric mother tongue of all—the Eurafricaspian (see para 2).

Arguments based upon place names alone are, however, dangerous. When we seek to establish a relationship between words in different tongues we usually have two things to help us: the sounds of the words, and their meaning. In place names the latter is lacking, and correspondences are therefore doubly speculative. The modern philologist looks rather askance at conclusions drawn from place and proper names alone.

18. The Etruscan language. The Etruscan language presents a problem no less mysterious than the Basque.

It is no longer spoken ; but centuries ago it was widely spread throughout Italy, where many inscriptions in this extinct tongue still exist. From time to time it has attracted the attention of prominent philologists, who have demonstrated with some show of plausibility that it is a dialect of Italic, a derivative of Latin, an offshoot of Scandinavian, allied to Basque, and related to Semitic. The only facts which are now at all clearly established are (1) that it is in no sense an Indo-European language and (2) that the people who spoke it in Italy before the rise of Rome appear to have migrated from the district of Lydia in Asia Minor.

19. Other groups. Certain of the languages of India are neither Indo-European nor Dravidian, but seem to belong to the Malay-Polynesian family. Such are the Kolarian, including Santali.

Some of the members of the African Bantu family have prefixes to indicate gender, number, etc. In others the distinction of gender has been enlarged to differentiate between things extolled and things disparaged , and things animate and inanimate are also distinguished.

The languages of the aborigines of America are chiefly polysynthetic and incorporative , although a recent traveller claims to have discovered in Central America a tribe whose tongue is a form of Indo-European.

THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY

20. The Indo-European family. There remains for our detailed study the greatest family of all. It will have been noticed that some of the so-called language families are so only in name, and that they are in reality grouped according to geographical propinquity. With others the methods of comparative philology have not yet proceeded very far, and relationships are surmised vaguely rather than established. Even with such as the Semitic and the Indo-European the degree of relationship is not always universally conceded, and further research is called for. There is no doubt, however, that the Indo-European family offers the wealthiest field for philological research. This is so for the following reasons :—

(i) The peoples speaking the Indo-European languages have occupied a very important place in the world's history, and have been leaders in the world's progress.

(ii) The literatures of these peoples possess an abundance, variety, and merit, both in ancient and modern times, wholly unapproached by those of any other division of mankind.

(iii) The records in Indo-European languages extend over a very long period.

(iv) Most of all, the variety and richness of the linguistic development of these languages have rewarded and recompensed students richly for the time spent in research.

All these facts make the study of the Indo-European family valuable to an extent not reached by any other of the language families, however important they may be in their bearing on one point or other of linguistic development,

and however necessary is the testimony of all to a solution of the problems involved in speech.

21. Indo-European : its main divisions. It has been customary to distinguish two main divisions of Indo-European, which would appear to correspond roughly to a geographical separation of the east and west territorial areas occupied by the peoples speaking it. These two divisions are :—

A. The *Satem* group.

B. The *Centum* group.

In the *Satem* group the primitive Indo-European gutturals k, g, kh, gh, have been replaced by sibilants. Thus the word for 'hundred' is in

Sanskrit	..	..	satam
Zend	..	..	satem
Lithuanian	..	..	szimtas
Old Church Slavonic	..	..	suto

In the *Centum* group the primitive gutturals have been retained :—

Greek	..	..	e-katon
Latin	..	..	centum
Erse	..	..	cet
Gaulic	..	..	cant
Tokharish	..	..	kant

The primitive Indo-European word for 'hundred' was in its inflected form (d)kmto.

The word for 'eight' shows the same process. In Vedic it is *astau*, in Latin *octo*.

22. Members of the *Satem* group.

1. Indo-Iranian, or Aryan.

- (i) Sanskrit, with its derivatives.
- (ii) Zend.
- (iii) Old Persian, with modern Persian.

2. Armenian.

3. Balto-Slavonic.

(i) Baltic :—Lithuanian, Lettic, Old Prussian.

(ii) Slavonic :—

(a) Eastern and Southern —Old Church Slavonic, Russian, Servian, Slovene.

(b) Western : Polish, Czech or Bohemian, Serb.

4. Albanian, with ancient Illyrian

23. Members of the Centum group.

1. Hellenic, or Greek.

2. Italic :—Latin, Oscan, Umbrian

3. Celtic :—

(i) P-Celtic :—Gaulish, Breton, Cornish, Welsh.

(ii) Q-Celtic :—Erse, Manx, Gaelic.

4. Germanic :—

(i) North Germanic, or Scandinavian :—Danish, Swedish, Norse, Icelandic.

(ii) East Germanic, or Gothic.

(iii) West Germanic :—High German, Low German, Dutch, Flemish, Frisian, English.

24. Other members of the Indo-European family.

Amongst possible members of the family are several little-known languages, such as Venetic, spoken in north-east Italy ; Messapian, spoken in south Italy ; Cretan, the speech of the prehistoric inhabitants of that island ; Phrygian, the language of the Trojans ; the speech of the ancient Hittites in northern Asia Minor ; and Tokharish, spoken in Turkestan.

Of these Tokharish is the most interesting. It is a very recent addition to the family. Recent archaeological discoveries in Central Asia have revealed the existence, before the tenth century A.D., of an Indo-European tongue, hitherto unknown, called Tokharish. Few of its texts have been interpreted so far, and it is therefore premature to fix its place in the family ; but it does not appear to belong to the Indo-Iranian division, seeming rather to constitute an

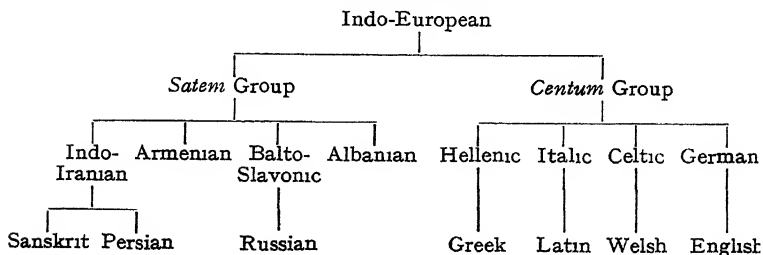
autonomous group. The surviving texts reveal the existence of two dialects ; and one of them was spoken at Koutcha in the seventh century A.D

Some proper names and inscriptions, of doubtful interpretation, give us a vague idea of the ancient dialects, especially Venetic and Messapian.

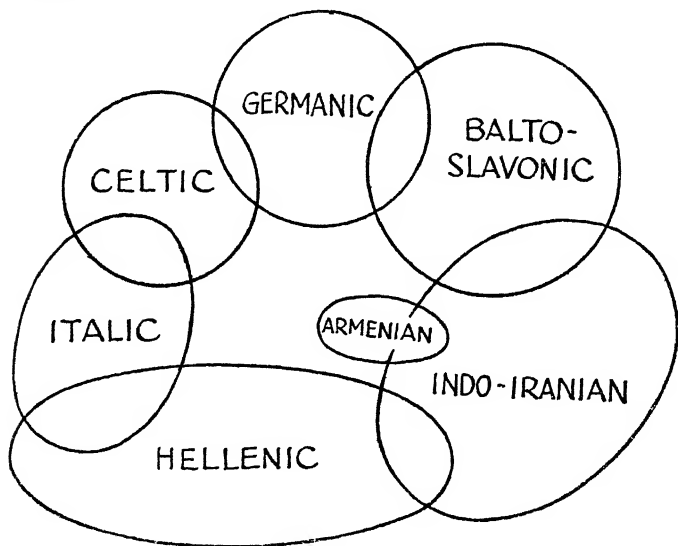
The little we know of Phrygian permits us neither to affirm or deny the statement of the ancients that Armenian is a form of Phrygian. The relationship between Thracian and Phrygian, similarly affirmed, is no more certain. Neither has it been determined whether Macedonian, of which there exist a few isolated words but not a line of consecutive text, is or is not a dialect of Hellenic. If it is, the connexion is distant. Similarly, the proper names and glosses of Ligurian are not sufficient to prove it an Indo-European tongue. On the other hand, from what has been deciphered of the Lycian inscriptions the proof is almost complete that that language is far removed from Indo-European. The other languages of Asia Minor, notably Lydian and Carian, are no better known ; they appear to be related to Lycian.

The discovery of Tokharish confirms the general suspicion that a number of Indo-European languages have disappeared without leaving any traces of their existence.

25. The Indo-European family tree. The usual method of representing the relationship of the members of the Indo-European group is by means of a genealogical table, similar to those found in history books —



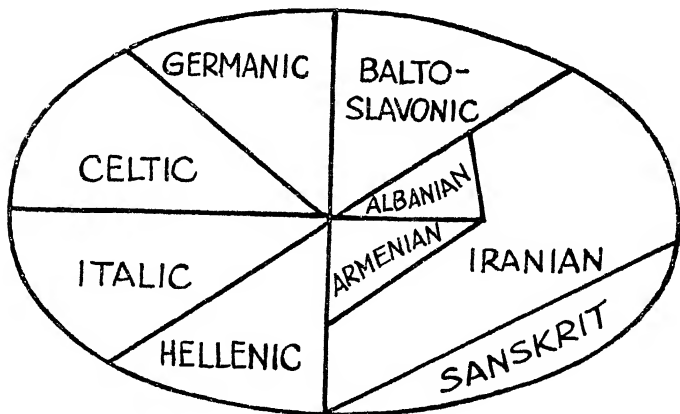
26. The relationship expressed graphically. Attempts have been made to represent graphically the language relationships in Indo-European. Their outstanding merit lies in the fact that they can indicate degrees of relationship much more accurately than can any family tree. Their danger lies in the uncertainty of our present knowledge. It is difficult to express the sometimes conflicting data at our command in anything so simple as the following diagram :—



27. Meillet's schema. Professor A. Meillet, who is Director of the School of Higher Studies in the University of Paris, has published in his *Indo-European Dialects* a chart which bears a curious resemblance to the diagram in the previous paragraph.

There is no more cautious philologist than Professor Meillet, who follows the strictly scientific methods of the French school, and he warns us expressly that his *schema*

does not correspond to any historical facts. It has a purely linguistic value, he insists, indicating nothing more than the situations of the various Indo-European dialects with regard to each other, before each became a separate language, established itself in a new territory, isolated itself, and ceased to have a common development with its ancient neighbours. The area attributed to each language is entirely arbitrary. Teaching no geographical or ethnological facts, it is purely a linguistic chart, and has no sense but for the linguist.



Despite his caution, however, one is justified in assuming that the *schema* bears out and has a general relation to the facts which we do know about the distribution of the Indo-European speakers just before the dawn of history.

THE DISCOVERY OF INDO-EUROPEAN

28. **The Indo-European family : its late discovery.** Various important facts may be learned from the charts at the end of the last chapter. One of the most striking is the certainty that we cannot go back directly to a primitive spoken Indo-European, but only to a stage when its dialects were already fully established and distinct. Equally striking also is the great power of penetration of these dialects, and their power of extension. At this point in our examination, however, the most astounding fact is that until the nineteenth century the mutual relationship of the various members of this large and celebrated family was almost entirely unknown. Yet included in the family are some of the most renowned ancient civilizations and empires which the world has ever seen : civilizations which mingled and intermingled, empires which jostled each other down the pathway of history. The Vedic hymns, the Asoka inscriptions, the Brahmanic prose writings, the Pali texts, and the Prakrit writings, point to a literary tradition dating back far beyond the seventh century B.C., and to a civilization stretching from the Himalayas to Ceylon. The Persian Empire of Darius is of the sixth century B.C., while its inscriptions are the oldest dated texts in any Indo-European language. The Greek civilization and literary tradition, familiar to us in the Homeric writings, go back also into the dim past. Roman power, and Latin literature, less old, have been an even greater world force. The warrior Gauls wielded military power from France to Asia Minor ; their northern relatives the Goths overran Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea, though both their empire

and their language have been long dead. We have glimpses of a great past civilization in Ireland with texts in Erse. There are shadowy evidences of a powerful Indo-Iranian nation, the Aryas. Many of these renowned peoples of the past met and quarrelled and inter-communicated; but the essential identity of the speech which they all spoke is a discovery of modern days.

29. Reasons for this. There are several good reasons for this. The first is the astonishing ease and rapidity with which an Indo-European language may change in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary, so as almost to defy any attempt at comparison. A second reason is that until the end of the eighteenth century it was the universal practice to refer all languages to an ultimate Hebrew origin, since Hebrew was assumed, on the authority of *Genesis*, to be the original language of mankind. Early attempts at comparison were, therefore, as erroneous in method as they were fertile in false conclusions, a result only to be expected. A third reason is that the study of the classics—Greek and Latin—was the predominant occupation of scholarship; and any tongue outside the culture and literature of these was considered unworthy of the serious attention of students. Except, of course, Hebrew, which was a sacred study.

30. Linguistic research in ancient Greece and Rome. The ancient Greeks had an intimate connexion with many peoples whose speech bore a close relation to their own. Unfortunately, they paid no attention to the fact, or, if they remarked coincidences, saw in them merely something curious, but not worth theorizing about. The loss to Philology is great and irreparable. The Greeks were in a position to define for us languages which have either disappeared without leaving any trace or which have altered very greatly since Greek times. If we had, for instance, definite ideas and information about the Iranian, Phrygian, Armenian, Thracian, Illyrian, and Celtic languages

of the fourth and third centuries B.C., such as the Greek interpreters, military and mercantile, could not fail to possess, then the comparative grammar of Indo-European would have been quite otherwise, possessing an exactness and completeness such as it can never now hope to have. But the Greeks did not conceive that these (to them) barbarous idioms were forms of the same language as their own; nor did they realize that the only true method of acquiring a sure knowledge of their own tongue was to correlate it with the various tongues which their soldiers, colonists and sailors encountered on every side. The only language they studied was their own. There is no doubt that they did so very successfully. Their philosophers defined the categories of its grammar, the grammarians described clearly the dialectal peculiarities of its texts. They omitted only to try to account for the facts of language.

The Romans had equally this sense of linguistic superiority; and could not conceive that the barbarous tongues spoken by their uncivilized enemies were allied to Latin. All that is conceded is that Greek and Latin were related, the latter being an offshoot of the former.

31. Philological research in the Middle Ages. The Greek and Roman philosophers and grammarians left then no legacy of Comparative Philology to later ages; nor, as will be seen later, did Sanskrit research bequeath any riches of that nature. Linguistic studies were not, however, entirely neglected during the Middle Ages; and it has even been maintained that the relationship of the European languages was both recognized and established. If so, it was by the Semitic and Arabic philologists, some of whom appear to have been distinctly modern in their ideas and methods. The international nature of Jewish society, then as now, must have provided frequent opportunities for an examination of the apparent resemblances between different languages. Unfortunately, however, their research centred

in Hebrew and its associated dialects, Arabic, Aramaic, etc. But their intelligent methods and valuable results in that particular sphere are of value to later students, and there is to be found a continuous record of important work, and a long succession of diligent workers, beginning as early as the ninth century A D

32. Oriental philologists of the Middle Ages. The first Arabic dictionary was written by Khalil Ibu Ahmad (718-791) of Oman, and it found its way to Baghdad and from there to the west in 862. More important is the Jewish family Dunash of Cordova in Spain, who as early as the tenth century were critical philologists who instituted a comparison between Hebrew and Arabic. Of the same century and city was Rabbi Jonah (990-1050), the greatest Hebrew grammarian of the Middle Ages, a scientific investigator of the Semitic family, and an ample contributor to the comparative philology of the subject. 'His work marks the culminating point of Hebrew scholarship during the Middle Ages, and he attained a level which was not surpassed till the modern development of philological science in the nineteenth century' (*Ency Brit.*). Another family of Jews, the Kimhi of Narbonne, worked on the same methods in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In 1581 Elias Levita produced a methodical study of Hebrew; while at the same time the Belgian Cleynaerts was working out his connexions between Hebrew and Arabic. In 1669 Castell of Cambridge issued his lexicon of the seven languages, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopian, Arabic, and Persian. Herbelot (1625-95), a Frenchman, wrote a dictionary of Oriental Knowledge; a Swiss philologist named Hottinger issued an Aramaic grammar; Schultens, a Dutchman (1686-1750), vindicated the value of the comparative study of the Semitic tongues against those who regarded Hebrew as a sacred language with which comparative philology could have nothing to do; and the German Reiske studied Arabic at Leyden from the

historical point of view Truly a cosmopolitan company of inquirers, preparing the way for the scientific methods of the nineteenth century, but producing nothing of direct value for the study of the Indo-European family.

33. A twelfth century amateur philologist. It is due more to accident than to successful research that we are fortunate enough to have on record an amateur attempt at comparative Indo-European philology in the twelfth century, instructive to us chiefly as revealing the difficulties in the way of scientific study, the standpoint, state of knowledge, and lack of method of its disciples

Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welshman, famous as an historian, was born at Pembroke in 1146, and his life is identified generally with the ecclesiastical history of his native land. But Giraldus had studied in Paris, and his writings show that he had applied himself closely to the study of the Latin poets. In 1184 he was one of Henry II's chaplains, and accompanied Prince John in his visit to Ireland, writing a biased account of the conquest of that unfortunate island. In 1188 he was dispatched to his native Wales to preach the Third Crusade, and once again put his observations on record, in his *Itinerarium Cambrense*. He was made Bishop of St. David's in 1198.

From these facts it is clear that Giraldus brought to his philological studies certain positive advantages: enthusiasm for his native land and its language, and a fair working knowledge of the classics. The results are seen in the *Itinerarium*.

There he tells us that during his tour through Wales he was struck by the fact that many Welsh words appeared to conform to the idiom of Greek. Some of his examples of correspondences are correct, some are fantastic. His theory was that after the fall of Troy three parties of Trojans fled to Europe: the band under Aeneas, who became the Romans; the future Franks, under Antenor; and the British, i.e. the pre-Saxon inhabitants of Britain,

under Brutus And this, Giraldus points out, is the reason why the Romans, the Franks, and the Welsh share as a common inheritance the sunny temperament of the Trojans ; while the English, the Saxons, and the Germans reflect the dull and chill north from which they have come Here, he goes on, is the explanation of the spirit, nobility, and largeness of mind, the wit and oratory of the Welsh

It may be mentioned that such a belief in the Trojan origin of these three nations was general in the Middle Ages ; and the linguistic researches of Giraldus Cambrensis indicate how much more might easily have been achieved despite the fog in which language study was then shrouded

34. The successors of Giraldus Cambrensis. The researches of Giraldus are characteristic of mediaeval methods, but with the Renaissance comes scientific study. A compatriot of his, William of Salisbury (1520-1600) who knew nine languages including Latin, Greek and Hebrew, was the greatest Welsh scholar of his time, and a philologist of repute. We read also of two French students, Perion and Estienne, who, before 1650, had sought to derive French from Greek and even from Hebrew. More important is Hickes, Dean of Worcester, who, in his *Treasury of the ancient languages of the North*, dated 1703, formulated a comparative grammar of the Germanic languages His example was followed by Lhuyd, Keeper of the Ashmolean Library in Oxford, a Welshman, who produced a comparative study of the Celtic languages in 1707.

But the work of these and others on the European languages was handicapped by the lack of another ancient tongue which would provide comparisons with Greek and Latin. This lack was removed by the introduction to the scholars of Europe of the language and literature of Sanskrit, giving us the science of Comparative Philology.

35. The introduction of Sanskrit to western scholars. The introduction of Sanskrit to Europe is associated

generally with the name of Sir William Jones, also a Welshman, no doubt, and the first President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. But there are rivals to the honour, whose claims must first be disposed of. In 1763, twenty-one years before the Bengal Society was founded, there lived in Paris Abbé Barthelemy, a churchman, and a member of the French Academy of Inscriptions. He was interested in Sanskrit, so he wrote to a Jesuit priest at Pondicherry named Père Cœurdoux, requesting him to send some Sanskrit dictionaries. In his reply the Jesuit father wrote, 'Here is a question proposed for the French Academy of Inscriptions. How comes it that in Sanskrit are found a large number of words common with Latin and Greek, above all with Latin?' (The last phrase was added to anticipate the obvious answer, that the common words were borrowings from Greek neighbours and invaders like Alexander.) He gave some examples.—

danam	donum
dattam	datum
'vira	virtus
vidhava	vidua
agni	ignis
nava	novus
divas	dies
madnya	medius
antara	inter
janitri	genitrix

He drew attention to the similarity of *asmī*, *esmī*, and *sim*, parts of the verb *to be*, in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, and compared the personal and interrogative pronouns and the numerals in these languages. He also instanced the Augment, the Dual plural, etc. After refuting possible arguments of commercial relations and scientific communications as being the cause, he concluded that Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin must have had a common parent. In a subsequent letter he added German and Slavonic to his

list There is therefore no doubt that Père Cœurdoux anticipated Sir William Jones in a very complete and workmanlike way as the sponsor of Sanskrit, but unfortunately, although his letters were read in the Academy in 1768, no notice whatever was taken of their remarkable statements The seed fell on stony ground

Besides the Abbé and Père Cœurdoux we meet with an English orientalist named Halhed, who after studying at Oxford, where he met Jones, joined the Indian Civil Service of those days Under the inspiration of Warren Hastings he published a Bengali Grammar in 1778 and set up the first press in India at Hughli Later he translated the *Mahabharata*, and it has been claimed for him that he also drew attention to the philological connexion of Sanskrit with Persian, Arabic, Greek, and Latin, and so anticipated Jones in point of time About the same year a German missionary from India, Father Paulin, published in Rome treatises demonstrating with numerous examples the affinity of Sanskrit, Zend, Latin, and German.

While admitting the priority of these others, however, there is no doubt that the most important pioneer work in Sanskrit and in Indo-European philology was done by Sir William Jones and the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he was the first president

36. Sir William Jones, Judge of Calcutta High Court. This scholar, who inspired the later achievements in comparative philology, was born in 1746 At Harrow he taught himself Arabic and Persian, and read Hebrew with ease. Very soon he became proficient also in French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, and had dipped into Chinese. By the year 1770 he was already a recognized orientalist, had translated from the Persian a life of Nadir Shah, with an introductory description of Asia in general and Persia in particular : had compiled a Persian Grammar ; and had rendered the Odes of Hafiz in French verse. He was a member of Dr. Johnson's famous literary club, to

which Boswell was elected in 1773. Until 1783 he was doing further work in Asiatic literature. In that year he was appointed to the Calcutta High Court, and he founded the Asiatic Society in the year following his arrival. His subsequent studies in Sanskrit resulted in the publication of several legal works on Hindu Law ; while he contributed largely to the researches of the Society. At his death in 1794 he knew thirteen languages well, and had a working acquaintance with twenty-eight others.

It is clear that Jones, although not quite a Cardinal Mezzofanto, had yet made a very adequate linguistic preparation for the work he was to do on Indo-European comparative philology ; and that he spoke with both knowledge and authority when he said in his presidential address to the Asiatic Society in 1786 :—

The Sanskrit language, whatever may be its antiquity, is of wonderful structure ; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either ; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could have been produced by accident ; so strong that no philologer could examine all the three without believing them to have sprung from some common source which, perhaps, no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a different idiom, had the same origin as the Sanskrit ; and old Persian would be added to this family if this were the place to raise a discussion on the antiquities of Persia.

In well considered terms, in calm, judicial language, Sir William Jones affirms that Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, Gothic, Celtic, and Persian are sprung from a common original. One notes—the more closely in the light of subsequent extravagant theorizing—the restraint of his qualifying

phrase regarding Sanskrit: 'whatever may be its antiquity'. He is, of course, wrong in assuming the presence of a blended idiom in Gothic and Celtic; but as late as 1838 such a great philologist as Bopp denied that Celtic had Indo-European affinities.

The influence and inspiration of Warren Hastings must not be overlooked in this Calcutta movement. That great Governor-General was largely instrumental in persuading the Indian pandits to open the treasures of Sanskrit learning and literature to European scholars and to contribute their knowledge to the Asiatic Society, with which his name is associated not less closely than that of Sir William Jones.

LATER RESEARCH

37. Hindu Scholarship. The help which the Asiatic Society received from the Hindu scholars was chiefly on the side of formal grammar. These scholars had not enjoyed the opportunity to study close at hand any Indo-European tongue other than Persian, a dialect very similar in many respects to their own. On the other hand, they observed their own idiom with admirable precision. In fact, comparative grammar has merely applied more generally the methods of Hindu scholarship employed upon Sanskrit. Linguistic facts, and the idea of historical linguistic development, escaped them.

38. The result in Europe of the Asiatic Society's researches. When the publications of the Society began to reach Europe they were welcomed especially in Paris, where there was a colony of Sanskrit scholars, and where Sanskrit manuscripts had been accumulating since the middle of the eighteenth century. This colony became organized in 1803, chiefly through the enthusiasm of an English prisoner-of-war named Hamilton, who had been for some time a member of the Society. He now spent his enforced inactivity in classifying the Sanskrit publications in the libraries, and in equipping the colony in this way with the materials for the new advance.

One of its very early members was Frederick Schlegel, the German poet, critic, and scholar, whose brother William was the leader of the German romantic school of criticism, and a writer of repute on Shakespeare. Frederick was in Paris in 1802, lecturing on Philosophy and prosecuting his

oriental studies The results of the latter are seen in his stimulating but misleading and mischievous work, *On the Language and Wisdom of India*, dated 1808

In it he repeated Sir William Jones's statement that the languages of India, Persia, Greece, Italy, and Germany were connected by common descent He also hinted at an 'Aryan Race', and suggested that Sanskrit was the mother of the languages Another of his views reveals his unscientific nature; for he enunciates a sort of symbolic conception of language :—

At the same time as man invented roots to express his ideas, he invented formative elements to indicate the relations between the ideas From the first, language was as complete as the thought it represented Thanks to a divine glance man found without having to feel about for it the exact relation between sound and idea

This was the unscientific method which Bopp had to supplant.

39. Franz Bopp. The science of Comparative Philology may be said to date from the publications of Bopp, who was born at Mainz in Germany in 1791 He went to Paris in 1812; refused to be tempted by the allurements of Sanskrit religion, literature, legislation, etc., and concentrated upon grammar. In 1816 appeared the results of his studies in which he observes the modifications effected by languages identical in origin, and shows the actions of laws which bring about these separate changes He traces the common origin of the grammatical forms and inflexions of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian, and German, as seen in the verb. In 1820 he was in London, where he published his analysis of the other parts of speech in these languages This was a tremendous step forward—the scientific investigation of all the terminations in the related languages—because it showed more clearly the processes of change and development, and established also more firmly the affinities

of the members of the Indo-European family. Bopp was appointed Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Grammar at Berlin in 1821. From that time onwards he was engaged on his *Comparative Grammar*, which appeared at intervals between 1833 and 1852. In it he had extended his observations to Zend, Lithuanian, Old Slavonic, and Old Armenian. Until 1838 he excluded Celtic, although recording some resemblances. He also wrote on the vowel system of Germanic, on the Celtic languages, Old Prussian, the Caucasian languages, etc.

As early as 1816 Bopp had outlined his plan :—

We must learn to know before everything else the system of conjugation of Old Indian, and compare it with the conjugations of Greek, Latin, Germanic, Persian. Thus we shall perceive the identity, and at the same time we shall recognize the progressive and gradual destruction of the simple linguistic organism and observe the tendency to replace it by mechanical groupings, from which has resulted an apparently new organism (*Ency. Brit.*)

The object of Bopp's researches was, therefore, to explain forms by fixing the oldest, least mutilated, most primitive form possible. In other words, his task was to describe the original grammatical structure of the languages, as deduced from inter-comparison : to trace their phonetic laws : to investigate the origin of their grammatical forms. He explains in this way inflexions, case-endings, number, person, tense, mood, and voice.

Schlegel's idea was, as we have seen, that inflexions were a sort of divine gift. In refuting this theory, Bopp perhaps travelled too far, as he tried to prove that the verb terminations were in reality personal pronouns, and that consequently the inflexional system was based upon an earlier agglutination. The almost insuperable difficulty is that these inflexional forms can be explained only by means of older forms. In other words, we shall be able to explain

Indo-European adequately only when we have established its affinity with other languages and have set down the systems of correspondences. As it is, we have not even Indo-European itself, but only a system of correspondences which give us an idea of Indo-European

As the result of Bopp's researches we see for the first time the true Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin roots, and the true constituent elements of the words. His is a new method, unknown to the Greek and Sanskrit schools. He has been accused of magnifying the importance of Sanskrit, which he described as 'a language which would share and sometimes surpass all the perfections of form which we are accustomed to regard as the privilege of the Greek language'. Yet, as early as 1820, he had said—

I do not believe that we must consider Greek, Latin, and the other languages of Europe as the issue of Sanskrit. I am rather drawn to regard all these languages without exception as gradual modifications of one single primitive language. Sanskrit is nearer it than the others; but there are examples of forms lost in Sanskrit which have been preserved in Greek and Latin.

Bopp's valuable work was confined almost entirely to the investigation of inflexions. He was, however, attracted by the work on the sounds which a contemporary was doing, and realized its equal importance. This contemporary was Jacob Grimm.

40. Rask and Grimm. Before discussing Grimm it is necessary to glance for a moment at the work of the Dane, Rask, whose researches, no less than Bopp's, influenced their more celebrated contemporary.

Rask (1787-1832), who recalls Sir William Jones in his zeal to acquire foreign languages, studied at the University of Copenhagen. His first field of research was Icelandic. He went to Iceland, familiarized himself with the speech and the place, and on his return to Copenhagen founded

(again like Jones) a Research Society. He next went to Sweden to study Swedish and Finnish on the spot. In 1817 he published an Anglo-Saxon Grammar. The following year he demonstrated the affinity of Icelandic to the other languages of Europe, especially Greek and Latin. By 1820 he had reached India via Persia, and had written a book about Zend. Subsequently he wrote grammars on Spanish, Frisian, Italian, Danish, and essays on Jewish and Egyptian subjects. At his death he was acquainted intimately with twenty-eight languages, and had studied twice as many.

Undoubtedly Rask was well equipped for work on comparative philology, and to him chiefly is due the credit for the discovery of the mutation of Indo-European consonants during the transition to Germanic known as *Grimm's Law*.

The name of Jacob Grimm is familiar the world over, although not in its philological connexion. He and his brother William wrote the universally-celebrated Grimm's *Fairy Tales*; and these tales were the direct outcome of the brothers' philological investigation of the folklore and traditions of old German poetry.

Jacob Grimm was born in 1785. By the year 1805 he had reached Paris, and was there strengthening the love and knowledge of the literature of the Middle Ages inspired by his earlier law studies at Marburg. In 1829 he was Professor and Librarian at Göttingen. His *Deutsche Grammatik* of 1819 is his most famous purely philological work. It investigated the inflexions of all the Germanic languages. The edition of 1822 treated of phonology as well as inflexion, and revealed the influence of Rask, as both did that of Bopp. Grimm then set out to demonstrate the continuous progress, subject to definite laws, by which the Indo-European languages had developed from their mother tongue; and his third edition, dated 1840, is, in methods and detail, scientifically comprehensive. Every law, every letter, every syllable of inflexion in the different

languages is illustrated copiously. The unique feature is, of course, the examination of the working of Grimm's Law, to be discussed later (para 80)

41. The followers of Bopp and Grimm. With Bopp and Grimm was inaugurated a new science ; and the structural analysis of the various Indo-European languages has continued with greater and greater success along the legitimate lines of study laid down by these pioneers, and in accordance with scientific methods, so that to-day we have a relatively complete knowledge of the development of most of the members of the Indo-European family

Of those who have contributed materially to this end may be mentioned the Englishmen : Furnivall (who founded the Early English Text Society in 1864), Skeat, Sweet, Canon Taylor (who studied place names in his book *Words and Places* in 1864 and wrote about the origin of the Aryans in 1887), Sayce and Bradley, the Americans : Whitney and Marsh ; famous French philologists like Diez (whose scientific grammar of the Romance languages appeared in 1836), Bréal (who translated Bopp into French), and later Meillet and Vendryes ; their Danish contemporary Jespersen, and so on

During this time the classical scholars of Greek and Latin were somewhat antagonistic to the new linguistic methods. They had their own well-established lines of research, and they rather resented the intrusion of newcomers who solved questions dealing with these classical languages by the help of tongues imperfectly known, and by methods utterly foreign to classical scholarship. Moreover, the modern philologists did not inspire implicit confidence (Bopp was a very indifferent Latinist) ; they neglected Syntax in favour of Morphology, Phonetics and Etymology ; and thus the older classicists failed to take full advantage of the new methods. In 1852, however, the celebrated Curtius used them in his work on Greek etymology ; and Corssen did for Latin what Curtius had done for Greek.

Among the German successors of Bopp and Grimm may be singled out Pott (d 1887), Professor of Comparative Philology at Halle ; Benfey, Professor of Philology at Göttingen from 1862, who specialized in classical and Semitic research, published his *Lexicon of Greek Roots* in 1839, and, transferring his activities later to Sanskrit, published in 1866 an English-Sanskrit dictionary , Schleicher, Professor at Prague, who studied Slavonic, and journeyed into Lithuania on linguistic research. He also sifted out the mass of philological detail accumulated since Bopp, and made each of the members of the Indo-European family stand out clearly from their common background. Another feature of his work was the tabulating of a long series of laws regulating phonetic changes ; and he earned some notoriety by the attempted reconstruction of the original Indo-European speech, and by trying to write a story in it. None of these Germans, however, despite the usefulness of his work, has the high reputation of Max Müller.

CHAPTER VI

LANGUAGE AND RACE

42. **Max Muller.** His is perhaps the name best known in India among the philologists of the nineteenth century. Born in Germany in 1823, he came under the influence of Bopp at the University of Berlin, his special bent being towards Sanskrit. In 1848 he published in England his edition of the *Rigveda*, settled down in Oxford as Professor of Modern Languages, and became naturalized. *Chips from a German Workshop*, 1856, and the *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 1859, are well known. He also edited the *Sacred Books of the East*. Undoubtedly he did more than any other to popularize the scientific study of language in England, and he presented oriental studies to Victorian England with brilliance and distinction. The only criticism of a man who dedicated a life of intense labour to the service of culture and humanity was that he was rather prone to build upon insecure foundations.

43. **The 'primitive Aryans'.** In the introductory paragraph it has been pointed out that there are two sides to the study of philology, and that one of these is the 'investigation of a language in order to find out facts about the customs, institutions, circumstances of the people who spoke it'. This perfectly legitimate and fascinating branch of research had been developed brilliantly by Grimm in various publications between 1848 and 1860, where he traced the history which lies hidden in the words of the German language. Grimm was a romantic; and what he was looking for was the national spirit of Germany in its purity, the language of Germany in its perfection. But

this method, so legitimately employed by Grimm and others, was responsible for that philological wild-goose chase after a 'primitive Aryan race', which made the philologists of the latter part of the nineteenth century the butt of scientists generally

44. The theory. The term 'Aryan Race' used to define the primitive speakers of Indo-European is said to be Max Müller's. It was, however, hinted at by Schlegel in 1808 (para 38), and the theory certainly did not originate with Max Müller. As early as 1845 a German named Kuhn, who founded a school of comparative philology in Berlin, published a work in which he endeavoured to give an account of the earliest Indo-European peoples before their separation, by comparing and analysing the original meanings of the words common to the different languages. The chief danger of this fascinating exercise lay, as was shown in the sequel, in the confounding of language with race. The vigour of Max Müller's disclaimer in 1888 shows that he had not been altogether careful in his terms :—

Aryans are those who speak Aryan. . . . I have declared again and again that if I say Aryas I mean neither blood nor bones nor hair nor skull. I mean simply those who speak an Aryan language. The same applies to Celts, Hindus, Greeks, Romans, Germans, Slavs. When I speak of them I commit myself to no anatomical characteristics. The blue-eyed and fair-haired Scandinavians may have been conquerors or conquered, they may have adopted the language of their darker lords, or their subjects, or *vice versa*. I assert nothing beyond their language when I call people Celts, Hindus, Greeks, Romans, Germans, Slavs.

This protest is illuminating, because it shows the direction of the criticism, and because it tells us that the writings of Max Müller had, innocently or otherwise, led readers to

conceive of the primitive speakers of Indo-European as ' a homogeneous race of tall, blonde, fair-haired, blue-eyed warriors, who swarmed out of their common hive somewhere in Asia, and spread south and west, carrying their culture and their language with them, and breaking off into the Indians, Iranians, Greeks, Romans, Celts, Teutons as they wandered '

45. Some excuses for the theory. Unfortunately enough the soil was already prepared for the growth of such a theory. Schlegel had held that Sanskrit was the mother of all the Indo-European languages. The ancient Sanskrit sacred books proved that its original speakers had come into India from the north-west. It followed, therefore, that the home of the ' Aryan Race ' was somewhere near Bactria, the district between the Hindu Kush and the Caspian Sea. Further, the Hindu Brahmins are fair ; and the tradition is strong that the invaders were a fair people. Again, the ancient Greek ideal type was fair ; Christ is represented as reddish-fair ; and it does so happen that most speakers of Indo-European languages are fair. The chronicles of Greece and Rome were full of references to a fierce ruddy people harrying their borders from the north. And, finally, this theory of an ancient ' Aryan Race ', of which the German himself was obviously the type, could not fail to fascinate German philologists in particular, whose scientific researches have been too often influenced by national patriotic fervour. Grimm had gone to ancient Germany for the German national spirit in its purity ; to conceive of a super-German ' Aryan Race ' was merely a step farther back.

46. The evolution of the theory. Leaving aside the question of justification, there is no doubt that the amassing of data, vocabularies, and other evidence concerning Indo-European, and from these deducing historical facts, became a most popular pastime. All the words existing in a majority of the related languages were traced back to

an Indo-European form, the authority of Sanskrit (which, although not always believed to be the mother tongue, was certainly acknowledged to be the eldest sister) being final in cases of doubt. Collecting in this way the vocabulary of the ancient 'Aryans', investigators deduced therefrom who and what they were, and where they dwelt. Absorbed in this occupation the mid-nineteenth century philologist was carried beyond ordinary bounds of exactitude and was blind to the elementary facts of allied sciences. For example, Pictet, a French scholar, worked out the theory in his *Indo-European Origins of the Primitive Aryans* (1859); and his picture of the idyllic conditions in which early Indo-European man lived was accepted and filled in by many enthusiastic successors.

47. **An idyllic picture.** The father, the protector of the family (*pater*, from *pa*, to protect), and the mother (*mater*, from *ma*, to produce), according to Pictet, were surrounded by their children (*putra*) whose name implied that they kept everything neat and clean. The daughter was the milkmaid (*duhita*, from *duh*, milk), while the brother (*bhratar*), derived from the root of Latin *ferre* to bear, was defined as the natural protector of his sister, whose name, with some hesitation, is decided to mean 'she who dwells with her brother', the notion of brother-and-sister marriage, being, however, summarily rejected. The uncle and aunt are a second father and mother to the family, and for this reason *nepos*, a nephew (Sanskrit *napat*) is both nephew and grandson. The life of such families was pastoral but not nomad; there was a farm where the women were busied with housewifery and butter-making, while the men drove the flocks afield. The ox, horse, sheep, goat, pig, dog, and farmyard fowls were domesticated; but it was in oxen that their chief wealth consisted. Hence a cow was offered to an honoured guest; cows were the object of armed raids upon their neighbours; and when a member of the family died, a cow was killed to accompany him in

the next world. Even the phenomena of nature to their naive imagination could be represented by cows. the clouds of heaven were cows whose milk nourished the earth : the stars were a herd with the sun as a bull among them the earth was a cow yielding her increase Before the original community had broken up agriculture had begun, and barley, if not other cereals, and various leguminous plants, were cultivated. Oxen drew the plough with the waggon. Industry also had developed with the introduction of agriculture, the carpenter with a variety of tools appears to construct farm implements, buildings and furniture, and the smith is no less busy Implements had begun with stone, but by this time were of bronze if not of iron ; for the metals gold, copper, silver, tin, were certainly known. Spinning and weaving had also begun ; pottery was well developed. The flocks and herds and agriculture supplied food with plenty of variety, fermented liquors, mead, probably wine and perhaps beer were used, not always in moderation A great variety of military weapons had been invented, but geographical reasons prevented navigation from developing Towns and fortified places existed The people were organized in clans ; the clans in tribes. At the head of all, though not in the most primitive epoch, was the king, who reigned not by hereditary right but by election. Though money had not been invented, exchange and barter flourished ; there were borrowers and lenders, and property passed from father to son. Though we have no definite information as to their laws, justice was administered murder, theft and fraud were punished by death, imprisonment, or fine.

Pictet placed the original home of this community in ' a wide area with Bactria for its centre ' : that is, the fertile region between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus River. Another writer, Morris, argues from the same linguistic data in favour of South Russia. He points out that ' the Aryans lived in a cold region as they had no word for autumn and a good series of names for winter phenomena,

cold and snow. Moreover, they dressed in a tunic, collar, and sandals, the garments being of wool or leather. They knew the bear and the wolf. They could not be from Egypt, as they had no word for ass or cat. Their birch trees pointed to the European temperate zone. They possessed boats, and thus knew a large body of water. They had names for salt, the crab, the mussel. On the other hand they did not know the oyster, so did not live near the ocean'. Thus, the area of the Caspian or Black Sea.

48. The name Aryan. This word is not connected with *ira* the earth, as Max Muller suggested, nor with Erin, as Pictet sought to prove, nor with the first syllable of Armenian. It is the name of an ancient group of speakers known philologically as the Indo-Iranian: a united community subsequent to the Indo-European period but before the separation into Indian and Persian. Zend has the word *ariya*; it is known to the Greeks in *arioi*, and to the Armenians in *arikh*. It exists to-day in Iran, denoting the country of the western Aryas. It is merely a proper name, like Swiss, or Turk, or Mongol. Its etymology is conjectural, and you cannot be proved wrong if you relate it to the Sanskrit *aryah* meaning favourable; just as you cannot be proved wrong if you are pleased to argue that the Scots are Scythians. The existence of the word tells us merely that at one period of history the Indo-Iranians were a united group.

49. The breakdown of the 'Aryan Race' theory. These various attempts to find a suitable word from which *Aryan* might satisfactorily be derived give us the first clear indication of the wholly unstable nature of the race theory. Internally it is weak. In the first place, the comparative method cannot accomplish what the theory demands of it. It cannot reconstruct the original Indo-European speech; but only a system of correspondences built up from words

occurring in the later dialects. These correspondences are very few ; and they may not be native Indo-European words at all, but borrowings. For instance, the word for *hempe* occurs in some of the related languages, but we know from archæology that it was borrowed from some unknown non-Indo-European tongue of south-east Europe.

We cannot, in fact, get even an approximate idea of the vocabulary of the people speaking Indo-European. The ancient texts in Sanskrit, Iranian, Greek and Latin do not give us the spoken language of their primitive speakers, the popular vocabulary is lacking. Only the universal conceptions common to all the languages, the general terms, survive. Moreover, between the period of spoken Indo-European and that of even the oldest texts, there elapsed perhaps hundreds of years, and who can say what borrowings there may have been? As our knowledge of the ancient Aegean civilizations increases, it becomes only the more difficult to assess the extent of their influence upon all prehistoric culture. The period of Indo-European unity is dated some time before 3000 B.C. The earliest dated texts which we have are the inscriptions of Darius, *circa* 522 to 486 B.C. The Vedic Hymns are, of course, much earlier. The year 1000 B.C. is often given as the date of their collection and reduction to writing ; but some authorities place their composition as far back as 2000 B.C. Admitting this, and the antiquity of the undated Homeric hymns, they are yet the product of a period of culture a thousand years posterior to the Indo-European unity. One of the most amazing facts in language study is the constant changes in vocabulary. Even in a language like English, standardized by four hundred years of printing, the vocabulary of Shakespeare differs materially from modern speech. The changes effected during a thousand years in the speech of primitive peoples must have been so sweeping as to make deduction speculative in the extreme. That this is so becomes clear when the authentic vocabulary of Indo-European is examined.

50. Insufficiency of the authentic vocabulary of Indo-European. This vocabulary consists, as has been said, of abstract and general terms which can give us only a fugitive and indefinite idea of its speakers. After all, such roots as make, dig, weave, sew, ride, row, do not teach us very much. The words of relationship—father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, son's wife, husband's father, husband's mother, husband's brother, husband's sister—indicate at most a social state where the woman entered her husband's family but where the husband had an indefinite relationship with his wife's family: a state of affairs not uncommon among pastoralists. The names of animals are general bull, sheep, horse, goat, dog, wolf, deer, bear, mouse; we have also bird, eagle, goose, otter, beaver, adder, bee, worm; wood, beech, birch, willow, oak, acorn, straw, corn, apple; salt, flesh, butter. The religious terms are varied and there is little reliable evidence about religion. Names of material objects, e.g. in pottery, differ. There is no common word for clothing. The precious metals have differing names. Iron was not known. We find foot, ear, eye, heart, mouth, head, nose, tooth, bone, hand and shoulder. There are the common adjectives for colour, red, yellow, grey; the numerals up to ten or perhaps twenty, also hundred, but not thousand. There is a trace of a duo-decimal system, which probably goes further back than Indo-European.

With such data it is difficult to reconstruct a civilization. We know that the primitive Indo-European speakers lived and died, ate and drank, slept, woke, took, left, saw, heard, ran, struck, etc. Beyond that we cannot venture far.

51. Other difficulties. One of these is that the fixing of dates from linguistic evidence alone must be an arbitrary process, as the changes in different languages are demonstrably so variable, and so independent of time. Another difficulty is that Indo-European had what is called *Tone*, as well as quantitative accent, thus increasing the

uncertainty of accurate reconstruction. More obvious is the doubtful correctness of many of the etymological deductions. For example, instead of the daughter being of the type of Charles Kingsley's 'O, Mary, go and call the cattle home', she was probably the 'cow-girl' in quite a different sense. a useful worker in a pastoral community, for whose hand in marriage cows would certainly be offered. She brought to her father's house a gift of cows upon leaving it to be married. A woman who knew her business was worth many cattle.

Again, when the other languages of the Indo-European family began to yield to careful systematic examination, the assumption of the greater antiquity of Sanskrit seemed to be at least doubtful, as Lithuanian, Celtic, and Greek were shown to possess forms as ancient as similar forms in Sanskrit. It was demonstrated that the absence of records is no conclusive argument against the antiquity of a language, since amongst many of the Indo-European peoples there was a traditional repugnance to written records and a preference for oral tradition. But the most patent internal weakness of the theory came from the complete inability of the philologists themselves to achieve anything approaching unanimity in their conclusions. Some accepted words which others unhesitatingly rejected; they deduced contradictory facts from the same data. In particular, they differed widely regarding the original home of their primitive 'Aryan Race', and arguments apparently conclusive were brought forward to prove that home to be in Mongolia, North Africa, the Sahara Desert, the Baltic lands, Scandinavia, north, south, east, and west Russia, the upper Danube valley, Bactria, Turkestan, and Germany.

52. External weakness of the theory. When a theory of such importance as the early history of the Indo-European speaking peoples cannot be presented with any show of unanimity by its own experts, it is not likely to fare well

at the hands of experts in the allied sciences. Examined in the light of their own data by archaeologists, ethnologists, anthropologists, and prehistorians, it became more and more discredited. Each of these sciences has an array of facts which must be correlated with the linguistic data before the problem of the Indo-European peopling of Europe and the Mediterranean littoral can be solved.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN
SPEAKERS

53. Eurasia in Neolithic times. It would appear that in the Palæolithic (or Old Stone) Age communication between Asia and Europe was very difficult, the Caspian Sea and the Ural Mountains forming then an almost impassable barrier, and that Europe was peopled from North Africa, across the land bridges at Sicily and Gibraltar. In Neolithic times, however, when we have our earliest evidence of the Indo-European speakers, the land mass of Eurasia was divided into six well-marked natural divisions —

1. Steppe and northern snowfields
2. Area of coniferous trees and evergreens
3. Oak and beech forests, and parklands
4. Grasslands.
5. Mountain zone
6. Riparian and coast lands.

It is the grasslands which attract our attention. From the western Carpathians, through Russia, along the northern shores of the Black and the Caspian Seas, thence eastwards to the foothills beyond the Altai mountain range, and southwards into Mongolia : within a boundary line drawn from North Roumania through the Urals to the middle Ob, thence south in a circle to the Altai, and back along the Himalayan hinterland through the Caspian bottle-neck to the Danube : there is clear going for nomad peoples. The area includes the whole Danube valley and northward to the Elbe through easy passes, the intermontane areas of the Balkans, the northern slopes of the Caucasus, south from Turkestan into Persia, and thence into the grasslands of central Asia Minor. It is divided into two parts by the narrow neck between the Caspian and the Urals. This is the area of the Indo-European

speakers, and somewhere within it is, one assumes, their 'home'

54. Its inhabitants in Neolithic times. The dwellers in these six areas of Eurasia were an intermixture of three distinct human breeds, Mediterranean, Alpine, and Nordic. The first, a brunette with long narrow head and whitish skin, dominated the Mediterranean littoral, the south and west shores being his entirely, while the type is found eastward to Arabia. Called Iberian in the west, he spread from Spain to the Rhine and westward to Britain and Ireland at an earlier date than either of the others. The second, or Alpine breed, coming apparently from the east, confined itself largely to the mountain zone. The type is characterized by dark hair, grey eyes, stocky build, and square heads. The Nordic type, blonde, tall, narrow-headed, occupied the parklands and the grasslands. It is very probably a sub-variety of the Mediterranean breed, acquiring its stature and bloneness after centuries of isolation in Scandinavia through the influence of environment and artificial selection.

The ancient civilizations of which we have records, in Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Sumeria, and so on, are Mediterranean, and their speech was not Indo-European. No definite evidence of the neolithic civilization of the grasslands will be forthcoming until the results of the excavations now being carried out at Anau in Turkestan are available. The reason is obvious. Pastoral peoples have a very loose national federation, one does not look for strong centralized rule as in Crete, Athens, or Rome. Such people, when things are normal, do not trouble their neighbours. It is usually when climatic catastrophes happen, such as drought and dessication, that the nomad leaves his land in search of new pastures. This is what happened in Arabia, sending the Semitic peoples out amongst their neighbours; and it is in all probability what happened in the grassland zone.

55. The appearance in history of the Indo-European speakers. These pastoral peoples were Nordic in type, but with an intermixture of other races. The true Nordic of Scandinavia had certainly held part of the western grasslands, it may be that at one time he ranged the whole area; but when we meet the Indo-European speakers in history they are mixed. The earliest mention of them is in the records of Egypt about 2000 B.C., where there is chronicled the rise of a new and threatening power beyond the Taurus mountains in Asia Minor, the power which we now know as the Hittites, believed to have arrived there recently from the north. Two hundred years later the first Babylonian dynasty was overthrown by invaders from the north-west—these same Hittites, and one is permitted to assume that the foreign Shepherd Kings who seized the throne of Egypt about the same time and are called the Hyksos were also Hittites. It is certain, at any rate, that the horse arrived in Egypt about 1500 B.C. It came from the grasslands, where it had been domesticated by the Indo-European nomads, the 'tamers of horses'. It was about the same time, perhaps 1600 B.C., that the Indo-Iranians or Aryans moved eastward, and that while one section turned south and invaded Persia, the speakers of Sanskrit penetrated the passes into India. Another similar movement from the north led to a series of invasions of the Balkan lands and the western uplands of Asia Minor. The ancient Babylonian and Assyrian records provide us with names which are undoubtedly Indo-European long before we learn anything definite about their owners. Much light will probably be thrown on this obscure period when the excavations at Boghaz-Kieu, the ancient capital of the Hittites, are completed.

In addition to this land penetration from the north-east and the north-west into the Mediterranean area, there appear to have been sea raids also on a considerable scale from about 1600 B.C. These raiders, of whom we know very little definitely as yet, were men of war, hostile and

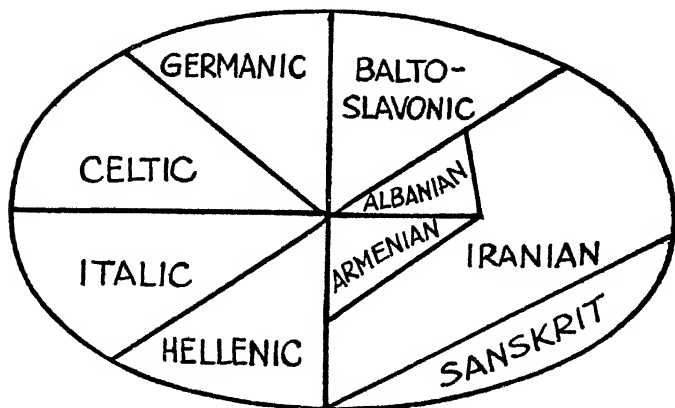
mercenary, and probably Indo-European speakers. On the other hand, the coming of the Achaeans into Greece, before 1250 B.C., 'blonde fair-skinned giants, tamers of horses, shepherds of the people', is chronicled in Greek records. The great civilization of Greece results from the fusion of the immemorial culture of the Aegean world with the traditions and institutions of the ruder folk who broke in upon it. Simultaneously the Phrygians were crossing to Asia Minor and founding Troy, since the Trojan War between them and the Achaeans is dated 1194-84 B.C. Subsequently, heroes of both peoples scattered over the Mediterranean, settling in Sicily, at the mouth of the Tiber, in the recesses of the Adriatic, and elsewhere. It is now that the period of written Greek texts is reached, as the Homeric poems have been dated about the ninth century before Christ; first the *Iliad*, describing some of the episodes of the Trojan war, and a generation or so later the *Odyssey*, telling of the wanderings of Ulysses after the burning of Troy. The foundation of Rome in 753 B.C. brings that great civilization into the light of history. Of the other Indo-European peoples there is at this date no record.

To summarize the position. We have our first mention of the Indo-European speakers in the largely unsifted relics at Anau in Turkestan overlooking Persia, the centre apparently of a strong neolithic culture and civilization before the Age of Bronze (*circa* 3000 B.C.) From this centre spread the earliest Indo-European influences in Asia Minor. Of these, Egyptian records mention one about 2000 B.C., identifiable as the Hittites, north of the Taurus mountains. Their kingdom dates back to 2300 B.C. From the year 1600 B.C. all the ancient Mediterranean and Indian civilizations were subjected to attacks from the north and west, until ultimately the process known as 'the aryanization of the Eurasian native' was complete; and new empires arose on the foundations of the old, strengthened by a new Indo-European framework.

56. Our knowledge of these newcomers. These newcomers, designated in Greek records by their tribal names, Hellenes, Thessalians, Boeotians, Achaeans, Phocians, Dorians, and as Phrygians, Hittites, Aryans, etc., farther to the east, were pastoral tribes moving slowly about with their herds in search of better pastures. They were governed by kings supported by a council of chiefs, whose decisions must be brought before the tribesmen and ratified. Their appearance has been described. Their most unique characteristic was a genius for organization and administration, and they could impose their language, social habits and political institutions upon a subject nation while at the same time absorbing all that was worth having of its culture. The great example of this is Greece. Although, therefore, the bonds which united the Indo-European peoples were lax, and political unity was non-existent, the result of invasion was in every case the same; a dominant and organizing aristocracy made its language and its social structure prevail.

57. Map of their original homes.

(a) *Meillet's schema* (para 27) :—



(b) *The grasslands* :—

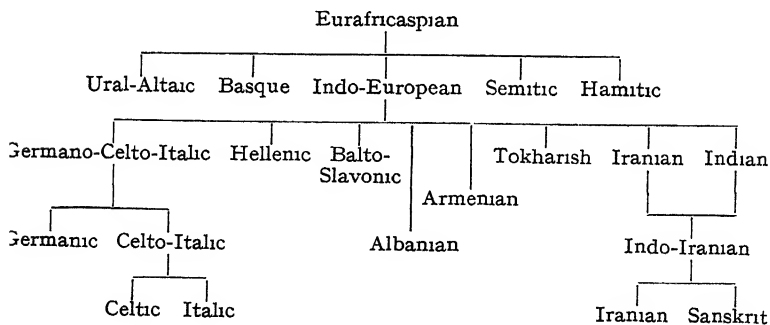


(See also map on pages 184, 185.)

CHAPTER VIII

CHARACTERISTICS OF INDO-EUROPEAN

58. The language of the invaders. The invaders all spoke languages which belonged to the Indo-European family. Some are little known to-day, e.g. Phrygian, Hittite, etc. From others it has been possible partly to reconstruct the parent speech. This mother tongue is, however, when we meet it, clearly divided into the well-known dialects of Meillet's *schema*, and each of these had also enjoyed a long period of unity. Not only so, but there is evidence of other periods of wider dialectal unity. It has been established, for instance, that there must have been a period of Celto-Italic unity before Italic penetrated into Italy at all. The true family tree should therefore be depicted, not as in para 25, but somewhat as follows. —



59. Notes on this family tree. The Indo-European which we can reconstruct is a loose unity with clearly-marked dialects: it may be compared to Sanskrit after it had been spoken in India for three or four centuries

Further back in time there must have been a primitive tongue without dialects, but in order to reconstruct it we should have to know more about the other ancient languages with which it was cognate. As yet, that knowledge is lacking.

As one might expect from languages born of the same civilization and social ideas, spoken by pastoral nomads, the various dialects are intertwined in most confusing ways. All the members of the family possess some peculiarity which they share with at least one other (except Celtic and Indo-Iranian, which do not appear to have any mutually-exclusive characteristics), and they fall naturally into the western and eastern groups, designated *Centum* and *Satem* (para 21). It is worthy of note that it is the latter group which reveals the change in the pronunciation of the gutturals, from which it is arguable that primitive Indo-European was spoken in the west.

The dialect of Indo-European which is established with most certitude is the Indo-Iranian, or Aryan. The Aryans were known to the Persians, Greeks and Armenians, and were a united population. It would appear, however, that the two dialects emerging from it were first of all distinct, then they had the period of community, and finally they split into Iranian and Sanskrit. No other languages present such close parallels, although there was never complete fusion, and they diverged as early as 1600 B.C.

It would appear further that Baltic and Slavonic were always closely related rather than united; that they were spoken in neighbouring regions by tribes living under the same social conditions; and that their development was parallel and orderly.

On the other hand it seems clear that there was not only a unity of Italic languages before the speakers entered Italy, but also an earlier period of Celto-Italic unity. There is no name for this united people, such as we have in Aryan; but it was probably responsible for the Halstatt culture.

A close connexion and certain common divergencies have often been claimed for Italic and Hellenic or Greek ; but the explanation is that these two separate dialects were imposed upon Mediterranean populations with the same habits of articulation and difficulties in pronunciation, who evolved parallel changes in the speech of their conquerors.

So far no mention has been made of the speakers of Germanic, because they did not impinge upon the early civilizations of which we possess records. Too far to the north-west to touch Crete, Egypt, or Babylonia, it is possible that they and their language developed quietly in their own area during these early centuries. The general closeness of Germanic to Balto-Slavonic is the result of geographical contiguity and nothing more. There are, however, stronger grounds for arguing a period of Germano-Celto-Italic unity

60. The characteristics of Indo-European. All the languages of which we have been speaking are modifications of one mother tongue which we can reconstruct to a certain extent by the comparative method. We are thus able to learn a good deal about it : linguistically, of course, and not as evidence of race or history. It is, in the first place, not a primitive language, but one well developed and complicated, the vehicle of speech of people of some culture. In the second, it has certain well-defined characteristics of its own, not possessed by its dialects.

61. Phonetic system. On the phonetic side it has consonants, vowels, and semi-vowels. The most important consonants are the Stops, *p, t, k* ; *b, d, g* ; *ph, th, kh* ; *bh, dh, gh*. There are two Fricatives, *s* and *z*. The essential vowels are *e* and *o*, both short and long ; *a*, which is confused with *o* ; and a short *i*. The semi-vowels are the Liquids, *l, m, n, r, w, y*. They play the double role of vowels and consonants, and of the dialects Sanskrit and Lithuanian alone have preserved to some extent this characteristic of the parent.

The prosody of languages like Greek, Sanskrit and Latin being quantitative, dependent upon the length of the syllables, it is necessary to remember that Indo-European had short and long syllables, the latter being indicated generally by the double final consonant. Of these syllables one could be pronounced in an elevated voice higher than the others. This phenomenon was called *Tone*. If it were pronounced with greater intensity, it was called *Accent*. Tone has generally been replaced by Accent in the modern languages.

62. Morphology, or grammatical system. Indo-European was a highly-inflected language, more so than Sanskrit, Greek or Latin. The form of the word expressed all the grammatical relations. Modern English has still a few traces of this. For example, the form of the word *him* contains all its grammatical relations. From it we know the person, number, gender, case. Similarly *lovedst* expresses person, number, tense, mood, voice. Generally, however, in English we require the aid of articles, prepositions, the place in the sentence, and inflexional terminations to enable us to establish the grammatical relations of a word.

The relationships in Indo-European were indicated in three ways :—

- (a) by terminations,
- (b) by vowel change,
- (c) by the place of the tone.

There were, however, some words which were invariable ; such as : the numerals from five to ten : the personal pronouns : in nouns, generally the nominative and vocative cases : in verbs, the imperative singular. The presence of such words in a language the structure of which is dominated by inflexion seems to argue them to be relics of an isolative pre-Indo-European.

If we except the augment, there are no inflexional prefixes in Indo-European, in which respect it differs from other richly-inflected tongues such as the Semitic languages,

which make great use of prefixation. Similarly there is no infixation in Indo-European.

The Semitic languages show most clearly the great part which vowel alternations may play in grammar. In these the root has no vowels at all, and each consonant is followed by a different vowel to indicate a different function. In Indo-European the vowels are used in the same manner. It is not the vowels which characterize the root, but the consonants and semi-vowels. The vowels indicate the inflexion.

Included in vowel change we have the characteristic of doubling in verbs, to denote either intensity or, more usually, the duration of an action or its achievement. Thus in Latin,

memini, I (have) remember(ed) : *cecini*, I have sung.

Not being limited by any phonetic rule, the place of the tone varied according to the words and the grammatical forms, and the precise meaning could only be defined when the place of the tone was known.

These characteristics point clearly to a language which had no accent of intensity (or, at most, an intensity only accessory) and which had a quantitative rhythm and a uniform pronunciation. These could not have persisted had one syllable been able to subordinate the others.

63. The noun inflexion. The distinction between the noun and the verb inflexion was very clearly marked in Indo-European.

Nouns were inflected for number. There were three numbers : singular, dual, and plural. The dual was used in all references to two persons or two things. Usually it had the adjective *two* preceding it, but not for pairs, such as eyes and ears. The dual has survived in Indo-Iranian, Greek, Lithuanian, in Germanic for the personal pronoun, and in Erse for the noun.

Nouns were inflected also for case ; i.e. there were different forms for nouns according to the part which they

played in the sentence :—nominative, when the subject ; accusative, when the object ; genitive, when the possessive ; locative, for the place or time ; ablative, for the place whence ; dative, for whom the action is destined , instrumental, with whom or what it is accomplished , vocative, for the person summoned. No dialect of Indo-European has preserved completely all these eight cases.

In addition to number and case, nouns were inflected for gender. Neuter had its special terminations Masculine and feminine were not, however, distinguished by inflexion. There was nothing in the forms *pater* and *mater*, for instance, indicative of gender. That was supplied by the adjective.

One of the peculiarities of the inflexion of the noun, and this applies also to the verb, was that there was no special termination for any particular function. Thus the plural was indicated by various different terminations, by vowel change, etc , and not by one special termination. So with the cases, gender, etc.

64. The verb inflexion. To get a clear idea of the Indo-European verb we must first of all forget the English verb. The root in the verb *love* does not change when we inflect it. The form is the same in all the tenses and moods. In the Indo-European verb, on the contrary, there were sometimes quite distinct forms.

In the second place, the tenses in Indo-European did not express time. Greek supplies us with examples of this, as the Greek present tense indicates a process which is going on : the aorist a process without consideration of the duration : the perfect the process completed. In addition to the present, the aorist, and the perfect, there was a present intensive, a causative and iterative, and a present desiderative, corresponding to the future.

The verb had three moods : indicative, indicating a process which is taking place ; subjunctive, a process which one wishes realized ; optative, a process which is possible, in contrast to the reality of the indicative. The

shades of meaning of these three moods might be expressed by 'affirmed', 'expected' or 'awaited', and simply 'possible'

Verbs were inflected by terminations, vowel change, and the place of the tone. There were distinct inflexions for first, second, and third person, for active and for middle, for singular, dual and plural.

The tenses had their particular endings.

The middle corresponds to our reflexive, and took the place in Indo-European of the passive. There was also the impersonal verb, with the idea of an indefinite subject.

As may be seen, the Indo-European verb was very complex. The possible forms of a root ran into hundreds. This complexity has been simplified in the course of development of the related languages, and is clearly perceptible only in the ancient languages of India, Persia, and Greece.

65. The Indo-European noun. In Indo-European, three varieties of the noun were distinguishable —

- 1 Substantives and Adjectives.
- 2 Demonstratives, Interrogatives, etc.
- 3 Personal Pronouns.

All three expressed number, gender, and case. Adjectives had three genders, but did not differ otherwise in inflexion from the substantive. These latter had many forms, and were differentiated chiefly by their suffix. Some, like *ped*, foot, had a zero suffix. *-es* denoted abstract nouns: *-er* nouns of relationship: *-ter* agents: *-ter* and *-ten* nouns of action: *-iko* the diminutive. The terminations *-yes* and *-istho* designated comparatives and superlatives.

The question of the infinitive, i.e. the noun form, inflected or otherwise, belonging to the verb, is a difficult one. Indo-European did not appear to have an infinitive. All its descendants do not possess one, and where it does exist the forms do not agree. In Indo-European its absence is explained by the character of the language, which had

no forms expressing the general idea of the word, but only the inflected forms

As with Sanskrit, Latin, etc., the Indo-European noun had grammatical gender, and experience alone could decide it.

Two nouns might form a compound noun, the second part of which alone was inflected. Such compounds were found in religious and literary language rather than in common speech. Sometimes proper names were compound nouns.

The commoner case terminations were, in the singular, nominative -s: vocative, none: accusative, masculine and feminine, -m or -n: genitive, ablative, -es, -os, -s: dative, -ei: instrumental, -e (long) locative, -i; and in the plural, nominative, vocative, -es (in masculine and feminine), -a (long) in neuter: genitive, -om, -on: locative, -su. There was also occasionally vowel change, and change in the place of the tone; but our knowledge of these is indefinite. Demonstrative, indefinite, and interrogative pronouns were for the most part inflected similarly to the noun. The personal pronouns on the other hand had little inflexion, while they differ so much from language to language as to be restored to Indo-European only with difficulty. Usually, however, the singular and plural of the same person were different words; thus in Latin: *ego*, I, and *nos*, we, *tu*, thou, and *vos*, you. The nominative was often different from the other cases, *ego* and *me*; *we* and *us*. Moreover, the pronouns did not express gender, as there were no third person forms. We have a first and second person in three numbers, and a reflexive which is the same for all. The personal pronouns were as follows:—

	First	Second
Nominative ..	<i>ego</i>	<i>tu</i>
Accusative ..	<i>eme, me, mik, mam</i>	<i>te, tva, tvam, tiom</i>
Dative ..	<i>mihī, mehī, me</i>	<i>tibi, toi, te, ti</i>
Also forms for locative, instrumental, ablative.		

66. The order of words. The relation between the different components of a sentence being indicated clearly by inflexion and accord, the order of words was expressive, not grammatical as in modern languages. It belonged to rhetoric. No word had a fixed place in the sentence. Now it is more or less fixed, although it varies from language to language, evidence of the earlier freedom. For instance, in the Sanskrit, Latin and German phrase the verb comes normally at the end ; but in Erse it is at the beginning. In Greek, Slavonic, and Indo-Iranian it occupied any place. When it came at the beginning of the Indo-European phrase it carried the tone, but not otherwise. It is clear, therefore, that modern languages, with fixed order of words, and lacking the tone, represent inadequately the Indo-European phrase. Perhaps the Baltic and Slavonic tongues, with free order, reproduce it most faithfully. In the same way, there was little of the modern subordination of phrases. These were in apposition.

67. The vocabulary of Indo-European. It has been made clear earlier (para 50) that very definite conclusions cannot be drawn from the vocabulary of Indo-European as we can reconstruct it. Words common to most of the related languages may yet be borrowings and not go back to the parent tongue at all. Thus *poena*, meaning penalty, is found in Greek, Latin, Erse, German and English. But if it had been a genuine Indo-European word the English form would assuredly (following Grimm's Law (para. 80)) have been *fine*, *fain*, instead of *pine*, *pain*. Similarly the word for *hemp*, found in Greek and Germanic, has been borrowed by each independently from some tongue of south-east Europe. It is certain that the borrowings of one Indo-European language from another during the prehistoric period, or of Indo-European languages from some non-Indo-European tongue, must have been extensive. We may assume, however, that a word which is found in three non-contiguous languages is almost certainly Indo-European.

The reconstruction of the language along these lines gives us at best only an approximate idea of the mother tongue. It is true that Sanskrit, Iranian and Greek provide early literary forms ; but no literary language can give us any clear idea of what must have been the vocabulary of a semi-civilized prehistoric people. To a certain extent, also, only the language of the aristocracy and not the popular speech has been preserved in the dialects. Only general and abstract terms survive ; but we must not therefore argue that Indo-European was abstract. It has been shown that Lithuanian, closely allied to the parent tongue, is definitely poor in general terms and rich in precise terms indicating particular actions and the details of familiar objects. Finally, there must have been extensive independent borrowing by each language during the intermediate period between the time when the parent tongue was spoken and the date of our earliest texts, a period of perhaps hundreds of years during which there might have been contact with the more advanced civilizations of the Mediterranean and Mesopotamian areas.

68. Its principal elements. There are few words, and these generally vague, for technical actions. Thus, the verb *tasti*, 'makes' (the English word 'textile' comes from it), is applied to the making of various objects. So with *dig*, *weave*, *ride*. The same word for *plough*, *till* (i.e. the Latin *aro* whence arable), is discovered in all the European dialects. It is not found, however, in Indo-Iranian, and was probably lost during a period of nomadic life. In the same way the word *to forge* is known only to the north and west speakers.

From isolated words some general idea of the society of the primitive people may be obtained. As has been remarked, relationship on the husband's side is fully defined. On the side of the wife all is vague. Each household was a social group over which was the 'head of the house': Sanskrit *dampatīh*, Greek *despotes*, Latin

dominus A group of houses is in Sanskrit *vic* and Latin *vicus*. The word to designate a people or nation, in Old English *theod*, is also found only in the west, while nowhere is there any general word for town

There are some names for animals, both domesticated and savage. The herd is *pecu*, *pacu* (whence pecuniary); the cow *gauh*; sheep *avah*, Latin *ovis*; horse *acvah*, Latin *equus*, Greek *hippos*; dog *cuna*, Latin *canis*, English *hound*. Wolf, bear, deer, eagle, goose, bird, otter, beaver, fly, hornet, wasp, bee, worm are designated

The plants are less definitely marked. There is no word for forest; but we have *daru*, wood. The following trees are named: oak, birch, willow, beech; of the cereals: wheat, corn, barley, while there is straw, the word *apple* is found only in the north and west, the southern form being *malon* (Latin *malum*). Obviously the original word has been lost and has been replaced by independent borrowing.

The variety of domesticated animals and the poverty in vegetables tempts us to the conclusion that the usual diet of the tribes was the flesh of these animals together with butter and milk.

There is no general word for God, but the manifestations of deity, such as sun, moon, stars, dawn, thunder, fire, are marked. No religious rite is common. In fact there is greater divergence in terms of religion than in any other part of the vocabulary, doubtless because each tribe developed its own cult: and comparative mythology learns little from this source. There is, however, a curious persistence of the same religious terms in Indo-Iranian and Celto-Italic, e.g. *craddha* and *credo*: *rajani* and *lex*: *yoh* and *jus*: perhaps *brahman* and *flamen*. The explanation is probably that colleges of priests forming definite social groups existed in these two domains and nowhere else.

Names of objects are easily susceptible of change. The introduction or imitation of any improvement brings in a new term. For the same reason the original term comes

to have different meanings in the various languages. This is seen in words for pottery and clothing. The word for *axe* varies; the western word for wheel, *rota*, corresponds with the Indo-Iranian *rathah* meaning chariot. The word for boat seems to be fairly general: Sanskrit *nauh*, Persian *nav*, Armenian *naw*, Greek *naus*, Latin *navis*, Erse *nau*, Icelandic *nor*.

Of the metals one term is found in three non-contiguous tongues, denoting either bronze or copper. Sanskrit *ayah*, Zend *ayo*, Gothic *aiz*, Old High German *er*, Latin *aes*. The word *gold* is found in Gothic *gulth*, Old High German *gold*, Lettic *zelts*, Old Slavonic *zlato*. The Latin *aurum* is from a source not known, and the Greek *chrusos* is probably Phœnician in origin. The word for silver is common to most of the dialects: Sanskrit *rajatam*, Zend *erezatam*, Latin *argentum*, Cornish *argant*, Armenian *arcath*, Greek *argyros*. Germanic, Baltic, and Slavonic have, however, borrowed a different word, English *silver*, from some unknown non-Indo-European tongue. There is no evidence that these metals were regarded as precious in the epoch of Indo-European which coincided with the end of the Neolithic or New Stone Age, and immediately preceded the Age of Copper or Bronze.

Iron was unknown, as the names for it differ in the various languages. Celtic and Germanic have the same word, Celtic *iarn*, Gothic *ersarn*, pointing to a period of Celto-Germanic unity or close contiguity about the time when iron came into use. The names of the parts of the body, knee, ear, foot, eye, head, mouth, nose, tooth, heart, bone, liver, are usually from Indo-European. Adjectives denoting colour are also general, as are the numerals, belonging to the decimal system. (Meillet: *Indo-European Languages*)

INDO-EUROPEAN DIALECTS

69. Development is parallel. When the Indo-European unity was broken up by events the nature of which we can only guess, although they were probably connected with change in physical conditions and pressure of alien invaders, the development of the related dialects was largely parallel, moving along the same paths, so that after long centuries of separation the modifications are similar. There were several reasons which would account for this. Firstly, and naturally, the dialects were alike because they had the same original structure. Secondly, the principles governing the development of a language are always the same, namely the tendency to give one function one sign, and to eliminate all complex and diverse forms. Thirdly, a change in the degree of civilization of a people leads to a corresponding linguistic change. For example, the use of the dual does not survive a distinct rise in culture. It is found to-day only among the most rural peoples in Europe, the Lithuanians, Slovenes, etc. It disappeared similarly from Semitic with an advance in civilization. Fourthly, all the Indo-European peoples were wanderers and invaders who conquered the inhabitants of the districts they occupied. Their natural tendency in speech would be to eliminate all forms differing from the normal type, thus achieving more rapid understanding. In the same way these inhabitants would acquire only with difficulty the more subtle forms of speech and would tend to employ only the usual. The nominative singular of the noun, for example, would tend to become the form of that noun.

We do not know how long these causes were at work, but it must have taken centuries before the dialects could have arrived at the stage at which history finds them, about the eighth century before Christ. Transformation must undoubtedly have been rapid, as when we meet them they are very distinct.

70. Chief causes of language change. Many theories have been advanced to account for the changes which a language undergoes

1. Laziness on the part of the speaker This is certainly not true, as many difficult sounds are retained by lazy speakers

2. The desire for euphony This was, but no longer is, a favourite explanation It is untrue, as sound changes are not deliberate but unconscious. Moreover, what particular euphonious result is achieved by saying *athir*, as in Celtic, or *father*, as in English, instead of *patar*? The people who said *athir* and *father* firmly believed all the time that they were saying *patar* quite correctly And, again, what particular euphony is there in saying *tea*, as in twentieth century English, instead of *tay*, as in the time of Pope? Few will agree that the American pronunciation of *schedule* with an initial *sk* is more pleasing than the orthodox manner.

3. Climate This is only very problematically true, and not unless there is migration to a very different territory and climate from the original Generally climate has no effect upon pronunciation

4. Mistakes in imitation. This again is not true; as the idea apparently is that the child does not copy speech correctly, an assumption contrary to experience

5. The existence of bilingualism in a country. When two official languages, equal in value, are spoken in a country, such as French and English in Eastern Canada, Flemish and French in Belgium, English and Hindi or Urdu in India, it has been argued, but never proved, that

sound modifications of the two languages take place. One is to suppose that an Englishman who has to speak Hindi and English in equal proportions all day long comes in the end to talk English with something of the intrinsic quality of Hindi in it. This is opposed to the facts, and as with individuals is probably so with peoples.

6. Social development within a nation may increase the rate of change, e.g. when we have different speech for different social divisions such as slang, etc. This is doubtful.

7. The formal character of a language. The inflexional system of Indo-European, with its progressive simplification and loss of terminations, clearly results in change of what is left. On the other hand, the formal structure of Semitic results in little change. There have been parallel sound changes, for instance, in non-contiguous languages, proving that the formal structure implies certain modifications.

8. Purely mechanical. It is unlikely, however, that changes are due merely to habit.

9. A psychological process. This is what is called value-stressing, the emphasizing of the important part of the word. The Germanic peoples (para 72) have this quality. They are blunt, lacking in finesse and tact in their manners, and similarly direct and brief in their speech.

10. The effect of an older indigenous language. It is said that Sanskrit was affected by the Dravidian languages of the aboriginal inhabitants, and that Armenian has been changed by the neighbouring tongues of the Caucasus region.

11. Social habits, such as restricted marriage and other institutions tend to make for change.

12. Due to analogy, loss of figurative meaning, change of function.

13. Contact with foreign speakers. This is undoubtedly the greatest factor in producing change. Upon the introduction of the new language the learner retains his old

familiar habits of articulation, and when he thinks he is reproducing the sounds accurately, he is really modifying them. This explains at least such early changes as those in Germanic known as Grimm's Law (para 80) In the same way the inability of the new speakers to grasp a complicated grammatical system leads to the elimination of everything difficult (Meillet.)

71. Changes common to all or most of the Indo-European languages. There are certain changes, due to the formal structure of Indo-European, which take place in all the related dialects.

1. Destruction of finals As these final syllables gave its meaning to the Indo-European word, this universal tendency had the gravest consequences

2 Ruin of the vowel system In particular the triple value of the liquid, or semi-vowel, as vowel, consonant, and second part of a diphthong, disappeared, leading to the ruin of the vowel changes which were one of the most characteristic features of Indo-European morphology

3 Eclipse of the tone. This disappeared, leaving traces of its action in Germanic, but without traces in Celtic ; and being transformed into an accent of intensity in Baltic and Slavonic.

4. Disappearance of the quantitative rhythm, with a corresponding change in the structure of the word.

5. Tendency to seek for an invariable form of the word. The word in Indo-European existed only in combination with one or other of its many inflexions The invariable tendency was to eliminate the inflexions and to establish an invariable form.

6 Grammatical modifications The optative tends to disappear, or to be merged in the subjunctive, and the perfect in the aorist. The middle voice and the dual die out The conjugation of the verb becomes simpler. The declension of the noun is reduced to well-defined categories. Vowel changes tend to disappear.

6. Elimination of superfluous cases Some of the cases had only a grammatical value, as the nominative and the dative, some had a concrete value, as the ablative, locative, and instrumental, while the accusative and genitive had both. In certain dialects the concrete cases were eliminated, in others they were retained Germanic has preserved fairly well the grammatical cases, but not the others, and generally the accusative and the genitive, with double values, have been retained With their elimination came prepositions to define the relationships.

7. Change in the phrase. There is now an order of words with grammatical value. The place of the noun indicates generally its function; and the order in English is often the only hint of the grammar

8 Accessory words In addition to the preposition we have accessory words like the prefixes to indicate gender, and also conjunctions, verbal auxiliaries, etc., whose function is to mark the use of the word in the phrase

9. Vocabulary changes These are also momentous. We do not know always what speech was replaced by Indo-European, and there may be extensive borrowings long after the dialects were established Many words of alien birth had time to assume an Indo-European form.

10. Changes peculiar to each dialect These are no less striking. Thus Indo-Iranian has confused entirely the vowels *a*, *e*, *o* of Indo-European, Greek has weakened its consonants; and in Germanic the singularities are not less striking.

CHAPTER X

GERMANIC

72. Germanic. Germanic is the particular modification of Indo-European which the language underwent when it was introduced by the invaders to the inhabitants of the northern plains of Germany, the Atlantic seaboard and Scandinavia. During the slow and gradual penetration westwards the invaders had had apparently a period of unity with the speakers of Celto-Italic. This was followed by a period of Germanic-speaking unity, when Germanic was spoken, a dialect which we are able to reconstruct fairly accurately from its descendants. This dialect was spoken before historical times, and when we get the earliest texts the dialects were quite distinct.

Germanic shares the parallel development common to all the descendants of Indo-European, but it has also certain striking innovations which give it a character all its own. In examining the consonants of Indo-European it may have been remarked that these had changed in rather startling fashion in Germanic. The change amounts, in fact, to a dislocation of the Indo-European phonetic system. The cause of this is not known, but may be conjectured. It can hardly have been due to the invaders, who presumably spoke dialectal Indo-European. It must therefore have been brought about by the indigenous inhabitants whom the newcomers found in their new territories, and upon whom they imposed their rule and speech. French philologists have a convenient word for such inhabitants; they call them the 'substratum'.

It would seem that this substratum was, especially in the south of the Scandinavian peninsula and on the islands

and shores of the western Baltic, fairly well advanced in civilization, with a culture peculiarly its own. From what we can gather, on the evidence of archaeologists, an isolated civilization had existed for centuries in this remote district. The people were Nordic, more pure than their kinsmen of the grasslands. They had the racial characteristics in fullness: blue eyes, fair golden hair, ruddy complexion, great height and bulk, and reckless, impetuous bravery. In fact, theirs were the Viking characteristics. If, therefore, the generally accepted theory of the dispersion of the Indo-European speakers is true, then we must reject the tempting guess that the original speech came from this Scandinavian civilization and spread eastwards, and believe that this northern Nordic people accepted Germanic, modified it ruthlessly to suit their own habits of articulation, and simplified and spoke it in a way suitable to their racial character. This is, at any rate, the most likely explanation of the rather revolutionary changes which we find in Germanic. The new speakers dislocated the whole Indo-European system, gave it a new pronunciation, and to some extent a new grammar. Much remains Indo-European, but much is new, and the changes are still going on amongst the descendants of Germanic, with the result that this branch of the family is markedly different from all the others.

73. The divisions of Germanic. Germanic became divided into three dialectal groups —

1. North Germanic, or Scandinavian
2. East Germanic
3. West Germanic.

1. Scandinavian has three modern descendants —

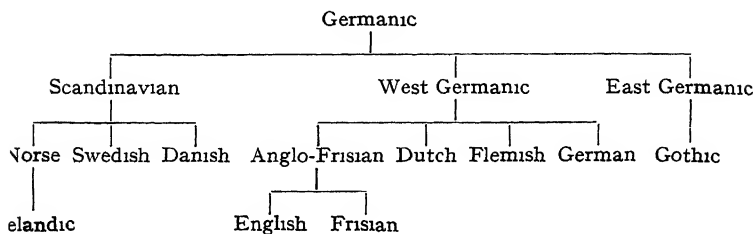
- (a) Norse, with Icelandic.
- (b) Swedish
- (c) Danish.

2. East Germanic has no living descendants, but Gothic belonged to this group.

3. West Germanic fell into two divisions :—

- (a) German, with modern (High) German, Low German or Saxon, Dutch, Flemish.
- (b) Anglo-Frisian, with Frisian and English.

74. The Germanic family tree.



75. **Scandinavian.** All the members of this group exist in modern times and, excepting Icelandic, they possess inscriptions written in the Runic alphabet, peculiar to the Germanic languages, and dating back to the third century after Christ. Runic inscriptions have been found also in England. The word *rune* means secret, or mystery, and throws light upon the Germanic attitude towards writing, which was that they would not, rather than could not, write. It was at first believed—on the principle of explaining one unknown by another—that the Runic characters were derived from the Etruscan alphabet; but there now seems to be no doubt that the runes were inspired by the Greek alphabet. A claim has been put forward in favour of Latin rather than Greek; but this must be rejected, as the Germanic peoples were able to write long before the period of Roman influence. On the other hand, the trade in amber between Greece and the Baltic is immemorially old. As the Greek alphabet was derived from the Phoenician, and that in its turn from one farther east, Assyrian or Babylonian probably, while the Brahmi script of India came either from Phoenician or from a common ancestor,

through the Sabaens of South Arabia . it seems established that the ancient alphabet of Germanic is related to that of the Indo-European speakers of India as their languages are also related

The Runic inscriptions in the Scandinavian languages are short and obscure, but they are valuable because they are in a very archaic form, close to Germanic itself. For instance the finals are well preserved. These inscriptions, with some ancient borrowings from the neighbouring Finns, are, at any rate, the oldest literary traces we have of a Germanic language

Icelandic is really Old Norse, being an offshoot with a literature dating from the eleventh century A.D.

76. Gothic. The original home of the Goths is uncertain but was probably near the Baltic. They were once a very important people in the history and destiny of the nations of Europe ; and they travelled far from their original domain. Driven southward by drought or restlessness, or more probably by pressure of the Slavonic tribes, they penetrated the Mediterranean area (as their Indo-European speaking predecessors had done for a thousand years or more) and merged themselves in the civilizations which they found there. When we first learn of them historically, about A.D. 395, they were to the east of the Carpathian mountains, along the lower Danube and the shores of the Black Sea. They were in two divisions, the western or Visigoths, and the eastern or Ostrogoths. By A.D. 476 they had established a kingdom in Spain which gradually extended north till it reached the Loire. Their kingdom on the Danube stretched south into the Balkans ; while the Vandals, their close cousins, established a kingdom at Carthage in Africa. Theodoric the Ostrogoth entered Italy in 489 with all his tribe, and became ruler of the western Roman Empire. Still later, other close kinsmen, the Lombards and the Franks, penetrated southward and established kingdoms . the Frankish kingdom being that

of the illustrious Charlemagne at the end of the eighth century. These were followed in their turn by the Vikings, their northern cousins, who built up strong states in various parts of Europe, e.g. Normandy and Sicily.

To-day the Goths have disappeared, and we should know nothing about their language, excepting a few names of their chieftains, were it not that, before Theodoric the Ostrogoth migrated from the lower Danube valley to Italy, the tribe had been converted to Christianity, and Bishop Wulfila, full of religious zeal, had translated the lives of the saints and portions of the Bible into the language. Fragments of these works survive. Up to the sixteenth century there still existed in the Crimea a people who spoke a language which was undoubtedly Gothic; elsewhere it disappeared at an early date.

Wulfila's Gothic is not the popular speech spoken by his flock. It is a literary language, devised by himself, following the original Greek from which he made his translations, and consequently possessing a Greek flavour. Moreover, it was written in an enlargement of the Greek alphabet invented by the Bishop for the purpose. It is therefore more regular than any of its Germanic neighbours, since it is the special work of an educated man and not the naturally developed language of a people. It still offers us, however, one of the most archaic forms of Germanic which we possess, although being founded upon the speech of a migratory and conquering folk it is already by the fourth century a relatively advanced language, and has effaced some of the primitive Germanic peculiarities which are still to be found in the more stay-at-home Scandinavian and West Germanic texts, later though they are in date than those of Bishop Wulfila.

77. West Germanic. The three divisions of West Germanic do not possess any literary texts as old as Scandinavian or Gothic. The earliest English texts date from the seventh century A.D., the earliest High German from

the eighth, and in Low German the most ancient text is the poem *Heliand* composed about 830 and preserved in manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries. In these texts, moreover, there are numerous divergencies. As there was no fixed literary tradition, each copyist and author chose the language of his own region.

78. The characteristics of Germanic. The history of the ancient peoples who spoke Germanic is unknown, nor are there any precise facts by which we may fix where and how its three groups were formed. We are certain of one fact only—that the folk who spoke Germanic were an active people, desirous of conquering their neighbours and of extending their domains. At the beginning of the historical period, therefore, the territories occupied by the three groups had been acquired largely through conquest, and in each there was a strong leavening of the indigenous population or substratum, speaking the tongue of their conquerors.

There were no written records, due to the tradition that religious matters should be committed to memory from generation to generation by a priestly class. Except, therefore, for the Runic inscriptions, which, being epitaphs, are non-religious, there were no texts until after the introduction of Christianity. It is because of the multiplicity of dialectal forms that we are able to reconstruct Germanic fairly accurately, but it must not be forgotten that even then that language was, as its modern descendants are still, in a state of rapid evolution. Judging by the Runic inscriptions and Wulfila's Gothic it must have been very archaic; but there were yet many complete and partial changes from Indo-European.

There was never perfect linguistic unity in Germanic. At some period, undoubtedly, centuries before the Christian era, there must have been a people with some consciousness of unity, which might perhaps be called the Germanic nation. But no nation of the primitive Indo-European

family had one institution and one rule. Each was an aggregation of peoples, and each people had its own particular usages and its own chiefs. There was geographical but not political unity. Therefore there could never be a language rigorously one.

79. Changes from Indo-European. The general changes from Indo-European, shared by all or most of the members of the family, were discussed in para. 71. In Germanic, consequently, there is the general tendency to reduce the finals and to simplify the luxuriant inflexional system of the parent language. We find in addition to these changes some special modifications induced by some particular reasons. In three chief respects: (1) its system of consonants, (2) its treatment of vowels, and (3) its introduction of accent, Germanic has separated itself definitely from the parent language.

It has been seen that the new speakers of Indo-European in the north-west of Europe retained their old habits of articulation, giving to Germanic a new pronunciation and new tendencies. Undoubtedly, the grammar of the parent speech was too difficult and complicated for the new speakers, and they proceeded to simplify it as they had done the articulation. Whatever was peculiarly Indo-European would therefore be left out, as being only half understood. This tendency to level and normalize, and to discard the difficult, would be helped by the fact that when a people have to learn a language they learn it unequally; and the diversity leads again to simplification. Moreover, there were not any strong forces of conservation. Unlike the substratum in Greece, for example, the indigenous population was not stable. Conquest and invasion bring as their concomitant a minimum of resistance to change. Further, the Germanic civilization was penetrated by the alien cultures of Greece and Rome, whose tongues were spoken by the learned. Germanic was, in short, the popular speech for everyday use, not the literary or learned language. This was certainly true after the introduction

of Christianity Finally, what was needed to stabilize the language was a Germanic empire, and there never was such an empire Charlemagne's empire arrived too late, and it was, besides, a Roman, not a Germanic, one The renaissance which it inaugurated was a classical one

80. Phonetic changes. The consonants. It has been observed (see para 61) that Indo-European possessed a rich system of stops —

- (i) Voiceless unaspirated stops : p, t, k.
- (ii) Voiced unaspirated stops : b, d, g
- (iii) Voiced aspirated stops : bh, dh, gh.
- (iv) Voiceless aspirated stops : ph, th, kh.

The fourth series is unimportant, and is not distinguished from the first in Germanic, Celtic, and Italic.

It had no breath consonants, and only one sibilant, s. It had the semi-vowels which were sometimes consonants, l, m, n, r, w, y. Germanic kept these consonants, and added some new ones. But, with the exception of s, there is no consonant in the series which is in Germanic the same as it was in Indo-European. In other words, we still have the consonants p, t, k, b, d, g, etc., but they do not represent the old Indo-European sounds. The new consonants are : f, th (Þ), and χ; and the voiced breathed forms þ, ð, y, w, also a z as well as the s.

The introduction of these breath consonants is an innovation which strikes one from the very first. Of the new sounds the th (Þ) is as in *thing*; the second th (ð) is as in *mother*. The χ is as in *doch*; and the g (y) as in German *tag*.

More striking is the mutation of consonants, known as Grimm's Law. Briefly, Indo-European b, d, g are represented in Germanic by p, t, k; Indo-European p, t, k are represented in turn by f, th, χ; and Indo-European bh, dh, gh, by b, d, g. This sound change operated between 400 B.C. and 250 B.C. and it operated within its limits with absolute completeness.

1. Indo-European voiceless unaspirated stop *p* was pronounced by the Germanic speakers as though it were the voiced spirant *f*.—

Indo-European	peku-		petr-	pod-	porkos	
Sanskrit	pacu	napat	pitar	pad		panj
Persian			pedar	pa		
Lithuanian				peda		
Old Irish			athir			
Greek		nepodes	pater	podis	porkos	
Latin	pecu	nepos	pater	pedem	porcus	
Gothic	faihu		fadar	fotus		
Old Norse	fe	nefi	fathir	fotr		
Old High German	fihu	nevo	fater	fuoz	farh	
Modern German		neffe	vater	fuss	ferkel	
Dutch			vader	voet	varken	
Old Frisian		neva	feder			
Old English	feoh	nefa	faeder	fot	fearh	
English	fee	nephew	father	foot	farrow	five

Also *caput* becoming *heafod* (see No 3 below)

2 Indo-European voiceless unaspirated stop *t* became in Germanic aspirated and breathed *th*:—

Indo-European	treja	ten-	tnus-		bhrater	
Sanskrit	/trayas	stan	tanus		bhratr	vartati
Persian					baradar	
Lithuanian	trys					verst
Old Irish	tri				braithair	
Greek	treis	stenein			phrater	
Latin	tres	tonare	tenuis	tegere	frater	vertere
Gothic	threis		thunnus		brothar	wairthan
Old Norse	thrir	thorr	thunnr	thekja	brothir	verda
Old High German	dri	donar	dunni	decchan	bruodar	werdan
Modern German	drei	donner	dunn	decken	bruder	werden
Dutch	drie	donder	dun	dekken	broeder	worden
Old Frisian	thre	thuner	thenne	thekkia	brother	wertha
Old English	thri	thunor	thynne	theccean	brothor	weorthan
English	/three	thun-	thin	thatch	brother	worth
		der				

Also *pitar* becoming *father* (see No 1 above),

dantam becoming *tunthūs* (see No 5 below)

NOTE 1 In the above and other examples may be seen clearly the subsequent consonant change (cf para 83) affecting the German group of languages, but not Frisian or English

NOTE 2 In these examples also may be seen the proof of the statement in para 82, that English is closely allied to the Scandinavian languages.

3. Indo-European voiceless unaspirated stop *k* was pronounced in Germanic as though it were *gh*, becoming *h* —

Indo-European	krd-	actau	kmtom-	loiqnes
Sanskrit		/ashtau	satam	kapal loiq-
Persian		hasht	kanab	sad
Lithuanian	szudis	asztuni	kanapes	szimtas
Old Irish	críde	ocht		cet
Greek	kardia	okto	kannabis	ekaton
Latin	cordis	octo	cannabis	centum caput linquo
Gothic	hairto	ahtau	hanapis	hund haubith leihwan
Old Norse	hjarta	ahta	hampr	haufuth
Old High German	herza	ahto	hanaf	hunt houbit lihan
Modern German		acht		haupt lehn
Dutch	hart	acht	hennep	hoofd leen
Old Frisian	herte	achta		hoved
Old English	heorte	eahta	henep	hund heafod leon
English	heart	/eight	hemp	hund head loan

Also *dekṃ* becoming *taihun* (see No 5 below)
peku becoming *faihu* (see No 1 above)

4 Indo-European voiced unaspirated stop *b* was pronounced in Germanic as though it were voiceless unaspirated *p* —

Indo-European			
Sanskrit	dhub		
Persian		kanab	
Lithuanian	dubus'	kanapes	
Old Irish			
Greek		kannabis	
Latin		cannabis	lubricius
Gothic	drups	hanapis	
Old Norse	djupr	hampr	
Old High German	tiof	hanaf	
Modern German	tief		
Dutch	diep	hennep	
Old Frisian	diop		
Old English	deop	henep	
English	deep	hemp	slippery

5. Indo-European voiced unaspirated stop *d* was pronounced in Germanic as though it were voiceless unaspirated stop *t* :—

Indo-European	dent-		dekm-	pod-	
Sanskrit	dantam	dwau	daca	pad	ad-
Persian	dundan	do	dah	pa	
Lithuanian	dantis	du		peda	ed-
Old Irish	det	da			ith
Greek	odontem	duo	deka	podem	edein
Latin	dentem	duo	decem	pedem	edere
Gothic	tunthus	twa	taihun	fotus	itan
Old Norse	tonn	tvau	tiu	fotr	eta
Old High German	zan	zwa	zehan	fuoz	ezan
Modern German	zahn	zwei	zehn	fuss	essen
Dutch	tand	twee	tien	voet	eten
Old Frisian	toth	twa	tian		eta
Old English	toth	twa	tien	fot	etan
English	tooth	two	ten	foot	eat

Also *ghaid* becoming *gaits* (see No 9 below)
ghed- becoming *get* (see No 9 below)

6. Indo-European voiced unaspirated stop *g* was pronounced in Germanic as though it were voiceless unaspirated stop *k* :—

Indo-European	gneuo	gen-	gwenā	gen-	jugom	
Sanskrit	janu	janus	janī	jna ✓	yugam	ajras
Persian					jugh	
Lithuanian					jungiu	
Old Irish			ben		igo	
Greek	gonu	genos	gune	gno	jugon	agros
Latin	genu	genus		gnoscere	jugum	ager
Gothic	kniū		qens	knaian	juk	akrs
Old Norse	kne	kyn	kvaen	kna	ok	akr
Old High German	kneo	chunni	quina	cnaan	juh	achar
Modern German					joch	
Dutch	knie	kunne	kween		juk	
Old Frisian	kniū	kin				ekker
Old English	cneo	cyn	cwen	cnawan	geoc	aecer
English	knee	kin	queen	know	yoke	acre

Indo-European	gwous	grnom	gwerl	
Sanskrit	gaus	jirna	jvar (jwalu)	
Persian	gav	gandum		
Lithuanian			(Old Slav)	golatu
Old Irish				
Greek	bous			
Latin	bovis	granum		gelidus
Gothic		kaurn		kalds
Old Norse	ku	korn	kol	kaldr
Old High German	chuo	chorn	chol	chalt
Modern German	kuh	korn	kohle	kalt
Dutch	koe	koren	kool	koud
Old Frisian	ku	korn	kole	kald
Old English	cu	corn	col	ceald
English	cow	corn	coal	cold

Also tegere becoming thekja (see No 2 above)

bhergo becoming bjork (see No 7 below)

7. Indo-European voiced aspirated stop bh was pronounced in Germanic as though it were voiced unaspirated stop b :—

Indo-European		bhendh	bhergo	bhlo-
Sanskrit	bharami	bhandh	bhurja	
Persian				
Lithuanian			berzas	
Old Irish				
Greek	pherein			
Latin	ferre			
Gothic	bairan	bindan		bloma
Old Norse	bera	binda	bjork	blom
Old High German	beran	bintan	biricha	bluomo
Modern German	(ge)baren	binden	birke	blume
Dutch		binden		bloem
Old Frisian				
Old English	beran	bindan	birce	blom
English	bear	bind	birch	bloom

Also bhratr becoming brothar (see No. 2 above).

8 Indo-European voiced aspirated stop *dh* was pronounced in Germanic as though it were voiced unaspirated stop *d* :—

Indo-European	widh-		dhers-
Sanskrit	vidhava	dhran	dhrsnoti
Persian	beva		
Lithuanian (Old Slav)	vidova		druzate
Old Irish	fedb		
Greek		threnos	thrasys
Latin	viduus		
Gothic	widuwo		(ge)daursan
Old Norse			
Old High German	witawa	treno	(ge)turran
Modern German	wittwe	drohne	
Dutch	weduw		
Old Frisian	weduwe	drane	dura
Old English	widewe	dran	durran
English	widow	drone	dare

Also *bhendh* becoming *bindan* (see No 7 above)

9 Indo-European voiced aspirated stop *gh* was pronounced in Germanic as though it were voiced unaspirated stop *g* :—

Indo-European	ghans	ghed	ghaid	gastiz
Sanskrit	hamsah			
Persian	hans			
Lithuanian			(Old Slav)	gosti
Old Irish				
Greek	khen	khandanein		
Latin	hanser	(pre)hendere	haedus	hostis
Gothic	gans	bi-gitan	gaits	gasts
Old Norse	gas		geit	gestr
Old High German	gans	gezzan	geiz	gast
Modern German				
Dutch	gans	ver-geten		
Old Frisian	gos	for-jeta		
Old English	gos	for-gietan	gat	giest
English	goose	get	goat	guest

Summary of these consonant changes

Rule 1. The Indo-European voiceless unaspirated stops p, t, k, were preserved only after s (t was preserved also in consonant groups pt, kt) In all other cases they became voiceless spirants f, th, χ (becoming h).

Rule 2. The Indo-European voiced unaspirated stops b, d, g, became voiceless unaspirated stops p, t, k.

Rule 3. The Indo-European voiced aspirated stops bh, dh, gh (Latin f, f, h, Greek th, th, kh), became voiced spirants b, d, g.

81. **Remarks on this consonant change.** Germanic is not the only member of the Indo-European family which has consonant change Armenian offers a series almost exactly parallel. In both cases the change is due to a radical alteration in the speakers' habits of articulation. In Germanic this did not affect solely the original Indo-European words. We find that words borrowed from Celtic, following the extension of the Celtic empire between the fifth and the third centuries before Christ, have also undergone mutation. Thus :—

Latin	..	regis
Celtic	..	rig
Gothic	..	reiks
Old Icelandic		rike
Old Saxon	..	rikı
Old English		ric
English	..	bishop-ric

The phonetic explanation is that the new speakers used the glottis very greatly in articulation The glottis is the opening at the upper part of the windpipe and between the vocal cords. They did so unconsciously, of course, but they could not alter their way of pronouncing the stops. We do not know what indigenous population it was which did so ; but the neighbouring Celtic people reveal, to a slighter degree, an analogous action. It has been

established that the change in Armenian was due to similar habits of articulation.

82. A subsequent change in these consonants. This peculiarity of pronunciation of the new speakers of Germanic, once introduced, continued to produce later results. These are not, however, so important for us, as they occur chiefly in High German · another proof that English is nearer to the Scandinavian branch than to the German in language as in social and political relationships Thus :—

Indo-European bh, dh, gh, becoming b, d, g, in Germanic, do not remain in High German true-voiced consonants, and in the old texts b and p, and g and k, are mixed up. In particular d changes to t, as *dochter*, *tohter* (English daughter). So Indo-European b passes from p to pf; d from t to z; and g from k to ch (not invariably).

These changes took place about the first century A.D., as words borrowed by High German from Latin share the changes.

So also Germanic χ passes to h; f becomes more dental; th becomes voiced; and the voiced th sometimes changes to dh or d

Amongst some of the other members of the Germanic family there are similar tendencies towards consonant change. The voiceless stops in Danish and English are more 'breathed' than originally. In the Gaulic and Gaelic dialects of Celtic these stops have become aspirated.

83. The intervocalic consonants in Germanic. In a general way intervocalic consonants tend to approximate in sound to the neighbouring vowels: thus, voiceless consonants become voiced, and stops become spirants:—t becomes d, p becomes f, and t becomes ss.

1. The voiced stops b, d, g, become spirants between two vowels. Thus Germanic has created a series of voiced spirants. In the same way f, th, and χ tend to be voiced between vowels, represented by t , ð , y.

2. Intervocalic *s* tends to pass into *z*, and this *z* tends to become a type of *r* (usually denoted by *R*).

A problem arises, however, out of this. Under certain conditions old *s*, *f*, *th*, χ have remained voiceless in Germanic; under others they have passed into *z*, ʒ , ʃ , *y* and *w* while Germanic itself provides no reason for this

The Danish linguist Verner found out the reason, and the rules governing the change are called Verner's Law, which may be stated thus :—

The sibilant *s* and the spirants *f*, *th*, and χ , become voiced between two voiced elements, of which one is the vowel of the first syllable, provided that the Indo-European tone did not fall on that syllable. For example, note the different development of *pīta*, where the accent did not fall on the first syllable, and of *bhrata*, where it did

Sanskrit	..	pīta	bhrata
Greek	..	pater	phrater
Latin	..	pater	frater
Gothic	..	fadar	brothar
Old Saxon	..	fader	brother
Old High German		fater	brouder
Old English	..	faeder	brothor
English	..	father	brother

The difficulty about applying Verner's Law is that we do not always know the place of the tone in Indo-European, and because that place could vary under complex conditions which we do not know accurately.

A good proof comes, however, from the Germanic preterites, derived from the Indo-European perfects. In Sanskrit the perfect has a variation of the place of the tone which must be very old. The singular has the tone on the initial syllable, the plural has it on the ending :—

veda, I have known, but vidma, we have known.

Germanic presents in the strong preterites an alternance of f, th, χ , s, in the singular, and b, d, w, z in the plural, to be explained by the variation in tone :—

teah, he has drawn	but tugon, they have drawn
wearth, he is become	but wurdon, they are become
seah, he has seen	but sawon, they have seen
was, he was	but waeron, they were

Another good proof comes from the causative verbs. Present tenses of the Indo-European verb type with e in the root, the type to which most of the Germanic strong verbs belong, had the tone on the initial syllable; the causatives had it on the suffix. In Germanic the distinction is marked by the change of sibilants and spirants from voiceless to voiced, thus :—

Gothic	..	fra-wairthan, to perish
		fra-wardjan, to cause to perish
Old English	..	genesan, to cure ; nerigan, to save

There were in Indo-European certain types of nouns in which the place of the tone varied in their inflexion. This variation is preserved clearly in Lithuanian; and these changes explain doubtless the different forms taken by nouns in the Germanic dialects, thus :—

Gothic	..	..	auso	dauthus
Old Icelandic	..	..	eyra	
Old High German			ora	tot
Old English	..	..	eare	dead

Thus it is clear that the Indo-European tone survived in its effects upon Germanic sounds, and that its presence on an initial syllable was sufficient to hinder the voicing of a sibilant or a spirant in the following syllable. In other words, tone in Indo-European might prevent the operation of Verner's Law in Germanic.

This law is demonstrable only for the sibilant or spirant following the vowel of the initial syllable. It is a kind of

assimilation. The consonants in question are placed between vowels and tend to become voiced in consequence. There is naturally less danger with an initial consonant, but even these are sometimes influenced by neighbouring vowels. For example, *th* is normally voiceless when initial and voiced when intervocalic as in *theft* and *either*. But none the less we have *then*, *these*, *there*, etc., all initial. In other words, the influence of the vowels upon the neighbouring consonants goes to great lengths in Germanic.

It is, however, remarkable that this extreme tendency towards assimilation and change never results in the suppression of the consonant. In this respect Germanic and its dialects are quite different from French, for instance, e.g. —

Sanskrit	..	pitar		bhrater	matar
Latin	.	pater	medium	frater	matrem
English	..	father	mid	brother	mother
French	..	père	mi	frère	mère

That is to say, Indo-European words are largely recognizable in Germanic. On the other hand, the Celtic languages have altered intervocalic consonants greatly.

CHAPTER XI

GERMANIC (*continued*)

84. The vowel system in Germanic. Indo-European had three vowels, e, o, a, both long and short. There were also the semi-vowels, l, m, n, r, w, y, which functioned sometimes as vowels and sometimes as consonants.

Another weak vowel designated by inverted e (ə) is also found. In an initial syllable this ə became short a in Germanic and most of the Indo-European languages.

Within the word this inverted e usually disappeared; otherwise it became one of the other vowels, a, i, u.

A further reduction of the number of vowels took place in Germanic, as a and o became confused. Short o and short a became a. Thus —

Sanskrit	..	..	ajrah	pita	astau
				(inverted e)	
Greek	..	..	agros	pater	octo
Latin	..	..	ager	pater	octo
Gothic	..	..	akrs	fadar	ahtau
English	..	..	acre	father	eahta
					eight

Long a and o became long o.

Sanskrit	..	..	bhratar	
Greek	..	..	phrater	
Latin	..	..	frater	flos
Gothic	..	..	brothar	bloma
Old Icelandic	..	..	brother	blome
Old Saxon	..	..	brother	bloma
Old High German			brouder	bluoma
English	..	..	brother	bloom

The semi-vowels were retained as consonants, and y and w also became the vowels i and u. The others, l, m, n, r, were retained as vowels in the diphthongs with u.

The Indo-European diphthongs tend to disappear in most of its dialects, but Germanic is tenacious of them.

The vowels in Germanic therefore consist of

short a, e, i, u ;

long o, e, i, u.

The diphthongs

ai, au, an, am, ar, al, etc

-ei, eu, en, em, er, el, etc

One of the most striking differences in the vowels is that while in Indo-European each was independent, and did not depend at all upon the neighbouring sounds, in Germanic the quality of each is dominated by its place in the word and by the vowels and consonants which follow it. Only the beginning of this is seen in Germanic, and the effects are revealed more and more clearly as the various languages develop, until we have different vowel systems in the different languages. Thus, for instance, we shall study the effect of this on the English language when we examine (para 108) Umlaut, Breaking and Palatalization.

So far three changes have been traced : in the stops ; in the intervocalic consonants ; and in the vowels under the influence of neighbouring sounds. There is also a fourth : the change to an initial accent of intensity.

85. The initial accent of intensity in Germanic. As has been shown in para 51, the Indo-European tone was an elevation of the voice. Although it has disappeared, we know of its existence from the Vedic accent, the Greek accent, etc., and some of the most ancient forms of the language possessed tone down to historic times, e.g. Sanskrit, Greek, Slavonic, and Baltic. This tone had, however, no influence whatever upon the vowels of the syllable it affected, but it had grammatical significance. According to Verner's Law it must have persisted in

ancient Germanic ; but there is no trace of it in the oldest texts. It had nothing to do with Indo-European rhythm, which depended upon the alternation of long and short syllables, as in the verse of Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit.

Generally speaking, this rhythm, the opposition of these long and short syllables, was maintained in the descended languages, except in the final syllables. This was so in Germanic, and it has been preserved in Gothic. In the other Germanic tongues, however, many long syllables were shortened, and both the quality and the quantity of the vowels were affected. The cause of this was that in these tongues the first syllable of the principal word in the phrase received an accent of intensity.

This phenomenon is the most characteristic feature of Germanic and it is the most revolutionary. The whole structure of the language became subordinated to it. It was introduced by the substratum who accepted the language which became Germanic. No other member of the Indo-European family has it, except Celtic, and there only in Erse, but all the Germanic tongues have it, except Gothic. Its chief effects were :—

1. It kept long, and sometimes made longer, the syllable on which it fell, either by lengthening the vowel or by influencing the consonant separating the second syllable from the first.

2. It shortened long vowels in unaccented syllables

3. It changed the rhythm or system of versification, from quantitative to head rhyme or alliteration, by destroying the opposition of longs and shorts.

4. With an accent of intensity on every principal word it shook the structure of the whole Germanic phrase.

5. It introduced a secondary accent of intensity in words of three or four syllables.

6. Short unaccented vowels within a word disappeared more quickly if the preceding syllable was accented. If not, the original vowel of the syllable, a, i, or u, was levelled to e.

7. There was no marked effect upon consonants, except perhaps the doubling of *w* and *y*. But this occurs in Indo-European also.

8. It accelerated the tendency towards monosyllabism.

9. Borrowed words did not escape from the initial accent
Thus :—

Latin	..	.	asellus	palatium
Gothic	..	..	asilus	
Old High German			esil	pfalz
Slavonic	..	..	osilu	
French	..	..	asile	palais
English	..	.	ass	palace

In Chaucer's time we find *virtue*, *liquor*, *corages*, etc., with the accent of the Latin. The modern accent results from the accent of intensity. Shakespeare's vocabulary supplies the same evidence (e.g. *revenue*), and in modern days the action is traceable in words like *despicable*, *formidable*, *interesting*, *laboratory*, *condolence*, *decorous*, etc. (para. 152).

86. The end of the Germanic word. As a result of the initial accent the fate of the unaccented syllable at the end of the Germanic word became precarious, and almost hopeless in a word of several syllables. Its fate depended upon different factors, such as whether it came before a pause in the sentence, before a word to which it was or was not linked, before a vowel, before a consonant; the importance of the word; the type of consonant in the syllable. The unaccented syllable is naturally weak, and susceptible to influences. The final syllables, therefore, do not show the regular phonetic correspondences in the different languages. On the contrary :—

1. Final consonants tended to disappear. Thus the dental stop *t* (from Indo-European *d*) is preserved in

Latin	..	..	istud	quod
English	..	..	that	what

But it disappears in longer words, as

Sanskrit .. . bharet

Gothic .. . bairai

Old High German bere

2. The Indo-European sibilant *s* is preserved as *z* usually, but not generally in polysyllables.

3. The final *m* and *n* persist in monosyllables, thus *hwan*, *when* ; *tam*, *then* ; but disappear in polysyllables.

4. Final long vowels become short, and short vowels disappear ; the more speedily because of the initial accent, thus :—

Runic .. . stainaR gastr

Gothic .. . stains gasts

If the long vowel is followed by a consonant, it may remain long.

By the time we reach Old English all the final long syllables and vowels have been abridged ; they are uniform in the guise of *e* ; and even this final *e* disappears by Middle English times Thus :—

Germanic .. . bindanan

Old English .. bindan

Middle English .. binde

Modern English .. bind

This progressive reduction seen in English is paralleled in Breton and Gaelic, dialects of the Celtic group.

Thus the Indo-European phonetic system has been transformed in Germanic. Its elements have sometimes changed in value. Its symbols have not the same character, and its pronunciation as a consequence differed radically from Indo-European.

87. Effect of these changes on the grammatical system.

The effect of the initial accent permeated the whole grammatical system, which in Indo-European expressed itself chiefly through suffixes, vowel change, and the place of the tone. The two latter were destroyed almost entirely. While the suffixes did not altogether disappear, except in

words of several syllables, they were deformed with the changed aspect of the word. For instance, the final -n of the accusative case was suppressed in all words other than demonstratives ; thus the character of this case disappeared. On the other hand, the root and the general idea of the word became emphasized by the initial accent, and the rest of it decreased in importance. This is a very important innovation in Germanic. In some other languages, such as Latin and Erse, the prefix to the verb sometimes received the accent. This did not happen in Germanic, and anything which interfered with the importance of the root tended to disappear. Another very important result of this double process, the emphasizing of the root and the eclipse of the inflexional terminations, is that the clear distinction between the noun and the verb in Indo-European disappears in Germanic. Deprived of its inflexions the root may now be either.

88. Vowel alternation in Germanic. Again, the Indo-European vowels were not an integral part of the word, but rather grammatical tools like the endings, e.g.

pater (Latin)	leipo (Greek)
patera	leloipa
patros	elipon
patrasi	

These vowel alternations to indicate grammatical relationships remained in Indo-European only in the root syllables. In the other parts of the word there are only traces. Thus in Gothic :—

Infinitive	Past Tense	Perfect Participle	
giban	gaf	gebun	to give
beitan	bait	bitun	to bite
biudan	bauth	butun	to bid
wairthan	warth	waurthun	to become
bindan	band	bundun	to bind
bairan	bar	berun	to carry
stilan	stal	stelun	to steal

These alternations occur chiefly in the strong verbs ; they are found in the nouns, but not systematically Elsewhere they have disappeared. It is curious that this archaism should be even more pronounced in the Germanic strong verbs than in the Indo-European, where there are fewer distinct types.

89. Simplification of the inflexion. From the very beginning there was simplification of the inflexions The dual disappeared gradually. There are traces of it in Runic Norse, and in the verbs and personal pronouns in Gothic. In Western Germanic it persisted for some time but disappeared finally. Of the two Indo-European moods, subjunctive and optative, Germanic retained one, which it called the subjunctive but which was derived from the older optative The distinction between perfect and aorist disappeared. The number of noun cases decreased.

These things were not peculiar to Germanic, which was, in point of fact, more conservative than some of the other related languages. It retained the dual after it had disappeared from Greek, Latin, Persian, and the languages of India Down to the fourth century after Christ some of the Germanic members had a rich noun declension, as rich as that of Greek in Homeric times. This late retention argues a more primitive state of civilization ; and the wholesale changes in the grammatical system are due not to advanced culture among the Germanic speakers, but merely to their habit of the initial accent.

90. The verb in Germanic. Of the two classes of verb in Indo-European, of which the Greek *phero*, I carry, and *eimi*, I am, are the types, Germanic retained only the former, although both were equally important in the parent language. At the same time the conjugation of the verb was simplified, and a new feature was added.

The Indo-European verb expressed the aspect of an action :—

Greek *leipo*, I am just in the act of leaving
leloipa, I have accomplished the action of
 leaving
eleipon, I was in the act of leaving
elipon, I have left
leipso, I wish to leave

In Germanic, as in Celtic and Italic, the expression of time is made of the highest importance in the verb. In Latin we find the tenses, present, past, future, etc. :—

Latin *-dico*, I say
dicebam, I was saying
dicam, I shall say
dixi, I have said
dixeram, I had said

The Indo-European preterite, to express an action going on in the past, is eliminated ; of the imperatives only the present is left. On the other hand, an infinitive is created, to express the general idea of the verb. The middle voice gradually becomes merged in the active, and its peculiar set of terminations are lost. In Gothic some traces of these are found. There are many participles in Greek, but only one has survived in Germanic, namely the present participle, although Gothic had a perfect participle. On the other hand, a new past participle was created.

Thus we have the Germanic verb conjugation :—

Present indicative, subjunctive, imperative, participle,
 infinitive

Preterite indicative, subjunctive.

Past participle passive.

Present Indicative *nimith*, he takes, *sokeith*, he
 searches

Subjunctive *nimai*, that he may take, *sokjai*,
 that he may search

Imperative *nim*, take ; *sokei*, search

Participle *nimands*, taking, *sokjands*,
 searching

Infinitive *niman*, to take, *sokjan*, to search

Preterite Indicative	nam, he had taken ; sokida, he has searched
Subjunctive	nemi, that he might take , sokidedi, that he might search
Participle	numans, taken ; sokiths, searched

Again, we have a new verb combination, of participle plus the verb ' to be ', thus *qithan ist* means it has been said. In similar fashion we have the introduction of the auxiliary ' to have ' It has been copied from later Latin, and is thus not found in the earliest Germanic It is used chiefly for the preterite, e g I have come In modern French this form has supplanted the older preterite But Indo-European knows nothing of these auxiliaries

There is nothing in Indo-European to correspond to the Germanic termination for the weak verb, the origin of which is unknown. The verb inflexions for person were soon simplified, and the middle terminations eliminated. The two separate inflexions for present and past tended to disappear In their place we have the addition of the personal pronouns This was another complete change from Indo-European

91. The noun in Germanic. The dual soon disappeared, except in the personal pronouns. The cases were reduced ; and the nominative and vocative were usually identical ; the dative, locative, ablative, and instrumental became the same

Thus the terminations are reduced to four, for the nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative There were likewise three inflexions for gender. In Indo-European the distinction between masculine and feminine was indicated by the adjective ; in Germanic it was indicated by the form of the noun itself, another innovation. In the inflexion of the noun there is simplification, and that ending in -n becomes the normal type. This type was important in Indo-European, and there are many relics of

it in Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek. But in Germanic it is all-important. Generally Germanic has remained faithful to the Indo-European inflexional forms, and in some degree to their variety, which the dialects speedily reduced.

92. The adjective in Germanic. The Indo-European adjective had no inflexion of its own, but had that of the noun of its particular type. The demonstratives, the interrogatives, and such adjectives as one, all, same, had their own inflexion. Germanic retained the inflexion of the demonstrative, and even extended it. As this inflexion served for the others it became slowly and gradually the general type for all adjectives in Germanic, as is seen in Gothic. The other inflexion of the adjective, when it did not adopt the demonstrative form, was the prevailing noun form in -n. Thus the Germanic adjective had three genders, following the noun type, and two inflexions, that of the demonstratives and that in -n.

English made the adjective invariable, thus losing one of the most characteristic traits of Indo-European. To-day the only evidence in English of grammatical gender is in the pronouns of the third person.

93. The order of words in Germanic. The progressive reduction of the inflexion had, in Germanic as elsewhere, two chief effects :—

- (1) the invention of accessory words,
- (2) the necessity of order to express grammatical relations.

With its rich inflexion, these were unnecessary in the most primitive Germanic, and Gothic had no settled grammatical order.

One of the first variations was the placing of the subject after the verb in questions. With the loss of the locative and other cases the preposition placed before its noun became general in these cases and gradually it was used also for the genitive and dative. Analogous to the

preposition was the 'preverb' *ga* introduced to express the achievement of an action, e.g

bintu, I bind , *bant*, I have bound , *gibuntan*, bound.

There was no article in Germanic, and the demonstrative developed into it in West Germanic. Where case inflexion persists, as in Slavonic, there is no article.

94. Changes in vocabulary in Germanic. The general characteristic of the Germanic words, both nouns and verbs, is that they now appear isolated, and are no longer grouped, as in Indo-European, round the roots in families. New suffixes were formed, such as *-ness* and *-hood*. Some short words were enlarged by secondary suffixes. Anomalous types were normalized. The primitive idea of taboo led to the disappearance of some ancient words. Others lost their general meaning and retained only a particular sense of it. There were, moreover, borrowings from other languages, generally neighbouring members of the Indo-European family.

The word *silver* has already been instanced as a borrowing by Slavonic, Lithuanian and Germanic from some unknown non-Indo-European speech. When the Celtic empire was flourishing between the fifth and third centuries B.C. words were naturally incorporated from this richer civilization. Thus we have *iron* ; *reiks*, i.e. *rice* (as in *bishopric*), cf. , Latin *rex*, a king ; the word for horse, Erse *marc*, Old High German *marah*, Old English *mearh*, modern English *mare*, may have been borrowed from the same unknown by both Germanic and Celtic. The other dialects have an entirely different word, in Latin *equus*. The chief borrowings result, however, from the spreading and penetrating civilization of the Roman empire which, stretching on the north as far as the Rhine and Danube, was in contact with Germanic speakers along a lengthy frontier. During the whole of the imperial period Roman merchants traded with these speakers, who also served frequently in the imperial legions. The influence of this civilization upon Germany

was very considerable. A little later came Christianity, and with it missionaries whose speech was Latin. In these two ways Germanic acquired many Latin words. At this time the Germanic unity was frail, but the related dialects were still similar, and these Latin words passed from one dialect to the other with slight alteration in form. The Latin borrowings are later than the Celtic ones, which have undergone the consonant change (para 40), but they became Germanized as far as possible, and received the initial accent of intensity (para 85). Thus

Latin	..	catillus	arca	palatium
Gothic	..	katile	arka	
Old Icelandic		ketell		
Old English	..	cytel	earc	palace

Another example is seen in the word for *ass*, also borrowed, as the Indo-European speakers did not know this animal, which had a Mediterranean habitat.—

Latin	..	asellus
Gothic	..	asilus
Old English	..	esol

One very important sign of the great influence of Latin is seen in the borrowed suffix to denote agents. The Latin was *-arius*, as in *librarius*, and we have similarly

Gothic .. *bokareis*, a scribe; *laisareis*, a teacher. This suffix is especially common in West Germanic, e.g. teacher, farmer, etc.

Further, the influence of Rome is seen in new ways of expression. Thus the Latin religious term *misericordia* is translated into its Germanic equivalents: Gothic, *arma haitis* (pity heart); while the term 'to fast' is expressed by a special use of the Germanic *fastan*, meaning generally to hold firm.

The influence of Greek upon the vocabulary was slighter. We have an instance in the taking over of the Greek word for church, *kyriake*, instead of the Latin *ecclesia*; so that we have in Old English *circe*, and to-day in Scottish *kirk*.

This was definitely, however, not a period of borrowing, and in general all that the Germanic languages did was to preserve or transform Indo-European

95. Germanic compound words. Germanic developed a system of prefixes instead of the older compound word. Thus there is the prefix to indicate a negative sense —

ni kann, he knows not ; *un kunths*, unknown

The Germanic phrase was made up of words in a fixed order, some of which are really compound words, as *jung frau*, young girl, often treated as a single word. Similarly the second part of the word often loses its identity, and becomes a suffix, as in *-hood*, *-ric*.

96. Numerals in Germanic. All of these go directly back to Indo-European, but all have been more or less transformed.

Indo-European *sem*, one, has survived in *simplex*, and in Gothic *sama*, the same : *samana*, together : *simle*, formerly : *sums*, someone, and in the golfing term *foursome*.

The word for *one* is in Gothic *ains*, meaning really alone. It occurs also in Baltic, Slavonic, and Celto-Italic, e.g. Latin *unus* (In passing it may be remarked that there are other similar correspondences in that sub-group of dialects, e.g. *semer*, to sow, and in the word for sea, Latin *mare* : Slavonic *morje* : Gothic *marei* : Erse *muir* : Old English *mere*)

The word for former, Latin *prior*, is Gothic *fruma*, Old English *forma* :

first, Latin *primus*, is Gothic *frumists*, Old English *fyrmost*.

The forms of the dual have been replaced by those of the plural :—

Gothic .. *twai* *twos* *twa* two

97. Conclusion. The vocabulary of Germanic is nearest to Baltic, Slavonic, Italic, and Celtic. When its words are

found in another single language it is invariably one of these. It has preserved many of the words of the Indo-European aristocracy, but has also incorporated many popular words, especially those with the double medial consonant, which are of popular origin, and seem to prove that the older civilization of the invaders was disappearing rapidly in the Germanic world.

Germanic is a new system built up on Indo-European elements. The developments are traceable clearly in the new language, which has merely altered, adapted, and enriched the old to meet the needs of a new population and culture.

THE ENGLISH INVASION OF BRITAIN

98. **Primitive society in north-western Europe.** From what has been stated in the preceding chapters one must conclude that the Germanic language travelled westward along with the Celto-Italic; and that they ultimately separated, the Celtic going due west, the Italic south, and the Germanic north-west. The Germanic speakers took with them, it would appear, some definitely Celtic culture, relics of which have been discovered recently in Scandinavia by archaeologists.

For thousands of years, reaching back indeed to the Stone Age, there had been a civilization there. Its social and political institutions differed somewhat from those of the invaders. For instance, the practice of agriculture was already old (although the names of all the cereals appear to be common to all the Indo-European languages), and the inhabitants were not nomadic. The patriarchal system was not so universal (one of their chief divinities was a goddess), and their kinship was probably cognatic. The subsequent subordination of women was due to the invaders' habit of choosing their wives from the native population, and to the institution of purchase of wives. There is said to be some evidence of the Indian custom of *sati* amongst the Slavonic and Germanic tribes.

The establishment of kingship appears likewise to be very old. The king was divine, or a descendant of a god, e.g. Woden. Among the Gauls there is the same primitive kingship. Nowhere in the north-west is there any trace of that democracy which the Roman historian Tacitus has described as existing among the German tribes along the

northern frontiers of the Empire. If there were tribal gatherings they were probably religious. The idea of kingship was indeed so firmly established that we find neighbouring peoples like the Finns, Lithuanians, and Slavs borrowing the Germanic word for king long before the Christian era. The whole constitution of Germanic aristocracy at the earliest date of which we have evidence appears to be a kind of military monarchy—a king with his court of retainers and warriors, some of them foreigners and mercenaries. The very closest social bond, as the early English poems, such as *Beowulf*, the *Wanderer*, the *Seafarer*, etc., reveal, was that between the king and his retainer, a many-sided relationship.

99. **The original home of the English.** The peoples who invaded Britain, known generally as the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, belonged, it would seem, rather to Scandinavia than to western Germany in civilization, if not in language. In the latter respect, they are the linking peoples, in reality, only two; since the Angles and Saxons, occupying contiguous parts of the Danish peninsula, had become fused. The Jutes were at the northern extremity. The Angles had come from the north to its south-east corner, settling in what is now known as Schleswig Holstein, along the Baltic seaboard. The Saxons, arriving also from the north and by sea, took possession of the western part alongside the Angles. Weakened by subsequent migrations to the southward they soon fell under the sway of their eastern neighbours, who established over the whole neck of land a small military aristocracy. All three were septs of the old northern people referred to sometimes as the Inguaeones, virtually the Danes, who occupied the western Baltic before historical times. Upon these remote tribes the influence of Roman culture and civilization was inconsiderable. Our conception of them as barbarians, conveyed by historians whose views were not unbiased, is contradicted by the evidence of archaeology. They possessed

bronze and silver work ; writing was one of their arts, and they were artistic. They were good riders. Many of their leaders were intelligent men, curious about the world, and humane. *Beowulf* presents this picture of their culture, which is confirmed by poems of the continental peoples. As has been said, that culture owed something to Celtic influences. These were the piratical invaders who attacked the shores of England and neighbouring lands in the early centuries of the Christian era

100. **The invasion of Britain.** The invasion by the Angles and the settlement in Britain appears to have been an organized affair. Emigrants from the continent continued to arrive until, probably, the sixth century. Doubtless the affair attracted many hardy adventurers, as did the similar invading expedition of William the Conqueror, on the promise of land and cattle. What seems proved is that it was a complete migration of a people, since the Angles are not heard of afterwards on the continent. The old story that Vortigern, the King of the Britons, invited them across to help him against the Picts and Scots is very likely true, without being all the truth. There were several other good reasons for migration. There was in these early centuries a general movement of peoples towards the south and west, due to the pressure of famine, or of the Huns from the east, or of the Slavonic hordes. In a military aristocracy, moreover, the king's followers benefited and were rewarded by successful invasion ; they gained land and slaves. Who knows but that there might have been feuds in the ruling family, with the exile the loser ; or that he, like Attila the Hun, who ruled all Central Europe, or Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who ruled from the Adriatic to the Baltic, might have been similarly ambitious to extend the family territory ! A strong local and national patriotism did not exist among the Germanic speakers, who were willing to go anywhere. The dominant element among the emigrants was Scandinavian, and they came

to England as kings and followers. They had their kings who were overlords, below them were thanes, landowners, reeves. There was no assembly of the nation, no democratic rule, and the kings claimed kinship with continental rulers and descent from the gods of the northern mythology. They led the invasions. In short, the traditions of the Angles stretch right back, as we see in *Beowulf*, *Widsith*, and other poems, to the ancient primitive monarchy of the northern peoples. The Saxons who are referred to so frequently in the records of the fourth and fifth centuries, e.g. in terms like 'Count of the Saxon shore', were really Anglo-Frisians, as the true Saxons from the north had either become fused with the Angles or departed south and inland. From certain social customs we know that the Jutes were slightly different; but the Angles and Saxons were one. The first party of invaders to settle in the land was led by Hengest and Horsa, who disembarked somewhere on the shores of Kent between A.D. 440 and 455. They came from Angeln. The accepted story is that Vortigern, King of the Britons, invited them to help him against his enemies, and gave them the island of Thanet. Established there, they sent for reinforcements, quarrelled with their host, and made war on him. There is a Hengest mentioned in *Beowulf*, who was probably this very leader.

According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which is, however, ninth century, Wessex (the south-west part of England) was invaded in A.D. 495 by Cedric and Cynric, who landed in Hampshire. As the Jutes were found there later, the landing was more probably in the Thames estuary. Very soon many small kingdoms were established in the eastern part of Britain, and these gradually extended westwards. The best known were Kent, which held supreme sway south of the Humber when in 597 Pope Gregory's famous mission, led by Augustine, landed there; Wessex, lying along both sides of the Thames westward through Hants, Wilts, and Berks; the Isle of Wight, with

a strip of the contiguous mainland, Hwicce, comprising the modern counties of Worcester, Gloucester, and Warwick (conquered by the West Saxons in 577), with perhaps a part of Wessex, Mercia, originally comprising only Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Notts, but latterly extending from the Humber to the Thames, and supreme from 642 to 842, East Anglia, stretching north-east from the Thames; Northumbria, including Deira, with York as its centre; and farthest north Bernicia, which lay between Northumbria and the Cheviot Hills. The Britons had been forced to the west, but they still had kingdoms in Shropshire, Hereford, and Chester.

101. Britain before the invasion. In the earliest palaeolithic times, when Britain was part of the continent of Europe, the North Sea a marshy flat through which flowed the River Rhine and its tributaries Thames, Tweed, Baltic, and so on, northwards to the Arctic Ocean, and the English Channel a fertile valley through which ran the River Seine westwards to meet the Atlantic Ocean beyond Lands End: the whole of Western Europe was inhabited by ancient races, to which the names Neanderthal, Cromagnon, Grimaldi, etc., have been given. The earliest race, however, of which we have to-day any considerable remains, was the Mediterranean race of short, brunette, long-headed people, who came to the west from north Africa, across the land bridges at Gibraltar and Sicily. They belonged to Neolithic times, and have been named the Iberians, the Long-Barrow people, etc. Some writers refer to them as the 'black breed'. They lived in caves and along rivers; had no agriculture, but knew something of pottery. Their implements were of stone. Near the end of the Neolithic age—about 3000 B.C.—they were pushed into the north and west of Britain by a new race of larger and more powerful square-headed people, who brought bronze with them, and have been called the Round-Barrow people. It seems clear that they first of all mixed with the Iberians

and ultimately absorbed them. They had knowledge of gold, lead, tin, amber, and possessed flocks and herds. They practised agriculture, and knew wheat and other cereals; weaving and pottery. These were the people who built Stonehenge and similar religious places.

102. The Celtic penetration of Britain. The Celts reached Britain before the fourth century B.C., in the general movement westwards through Europe. Their penetration southwards can be dated more accurately, as they sacked Rome in 387 B.C.; but they had probably subdued and absorbed the Iberians and the Round-Barrow peoples in Britain much earlier, perhaps before 600 B.C. Iron was introduced into the island by the Celts, who crossed over in three waves —

(1) Goidelic. The speakers of Gaelic, Erse, and Manx. These are termed the Q-Celts, and were the first to reach Britain.

(2) Brythonic. The speakers of Welsh and Cornish. They are called the P-Celts.

(3) Gallic. The speakers of Breton and Gallic. They are also P-Celts.

The Goidelic invaders pushed their predecessors to the north and west. They were followed by the Brythonic speakers about 325 B.C., who pushed the others northwards and occupied the island as far as the River Forth. The third wave reached only the south of Britain; and a close connexion was maintained with the Bretons. Two hundred years later, when fighting against the Gauls, Julius Caesar remarks upon this close alliance. The third Celtic invasion, which is dated about 150 B.C., is sometimes associated with the Belgae, a powerful tribe of Gaul. One result of these invasions was the extinction of all non-Indo-European languages in the island, and the pushing of the surviving non-Indo-European peoples to the remote north and west. It is doubtful whether we have

to-day any traces of their speech except perhaps in a few place names.

The Celts, like their Germanic-speaking kinsmen, were tall, blonde, red-haired, fair-skinned giants, although this description would fit only the dominant aristocracy, the chiefs and the warriors, since in the followers there must have been a good deal of racial mixture. They were acquainted with corn, wheat, oats, beer, mead, tin, and as early as 200 B C they had a coinage. They were workers in bronze, gold, and iron, and Celtic art is quite famous. The tattooing of the body was general, for which reason the northern Celts were called Picti by the Romans. Polytheists of the usual Indo-European type, they practised human sacrifices; while their priesthood—the Druids—possessed great power. The close connexion between Celtic Gaul and Celtic Britain was perhaps the chief reason which influenced Julius Caesar, at war with the Gauls, to invade the island in 55 B C.

103. The Romans in Britain. Caesar's invasion in 55 B C may have been primarily a punitive expedition against the allies of the Gauls, but it has been suggested that he was also attracted by the supposed wealth of the island, its trade in tin, and its reputation for pearls. A successful general had to placate the Roman mob, and he doubtless looked for plunder, slaves, and all the other results of a successful campaign. He returned again to the island in 54 B.C., but the only tangible outcome of his expeditions was that he had pointed out to his successors the way to Britain, whose inhabitants he found to be bold fighters, especially in their chariots. After the rebellion of the Gauls in 52 B C., Gaul settled down as a Roman province, and the Romans inaugurated trade with Britain, and sent their merchants across. Thereafter, the influence of Roman civilization began to be felt. For instance, we find that British coins had now Latin inscriptions. One of the British kings at this time (A.D. 5—A.D. 40) was

Cymbeline, the hero of Shakespeare's play. He ruled from Kent to Gloucester and the Midlands, and maintained friendly relations and a steady trade with the Roman Empire.

The Roman conquest of Britain commenced in A.D. 43, under the Emperor Claudius. A stubborn resistance was offered by the two sons of Cymbeline, of whom Caractacus was the more famous. He was captured, however, in A.D. 51, and sent to Rome. In A.D. 60 another famous British warrior, the widowed Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, of whom the poet Cowper has written, revolted against the Romans; but after capturing London she was defeated and took poison. Thereafter may be traced the steady development of the country under Roman rule, and the building of the famous system of roads. In the north, however, there were constant wars of aggression from A.D. 71 to A.D. 85, as the result of which the country between the Humber and the Solway was annexed.

In A.D. 78 Agricola, who was the Roman Governor under the Emperor Vespasian, made vigorous efforts to extend the sway of Rome. We are privileged to know more about him, because he was accompanied to Britain by his son-in-law and biographer, the famous historian Tacitus, whose account of his father-in-law's campaigns is valuable but rather untrustworthy. By A.D. 84 Agricola had penetrated far into Scotland and fought a pitched battle with the Celts there. Before his recall he erected a line of forts between the Tyne and the Solway. To the south of it Britain had now become a Roman province administered like any other Roman colony, and the Celtic inhabitants were peaceful, romanized in culture and religion alike. There is evidence, moreover, that Latin was used and understood by the common people. In A.D. 118 the famous Hadrian's Wall was erected between the Tyne and the Solway along the line of Agricola's forts. In A.D. 140 Antonine's Wall was built between the Forth and the Clyde. It marked the northern limit of Roman rule.

104. The end of Roman rule in Britain. Although in the year A.D. 210 the Emperor Severus marched his army as far north as the Moray Firth and left garrisons in the north, the end of Roman aggression was marked by the building of Antonine's Wall. Thereafter may be traced the gradual weakening of Rome in the face of the attacks of her enemies. For the time being, however—the third century—the land was prosperous and peaceful. Local recruitment to the Roman army had become general. Her enemies were kept beyond her borders. Before the end of that century, however, there appeared a new danger. In the north there had always been the Picts and the Scots, who attacked the colony, the former generally by land, the latter by sea. Now we have the advent of the sea-raiders from the north-west of the continent of Europe. In the year 286 it was found necessary to appoint an official, called the Count of the Saxon Shore, with a fleet, castles along the coast, and fortified ports. His duty was to protect the shores of Gaul and Britain against the new menace by sea. The first Count was a Gaul called Carausius, appointed by the Emperor Maximian. Carausius was the first sea-king of Britain. For seven years he ruled with great success and undisputed sway, checking the pirates, holding the northern aggressors beyond the wall and restoring trade. From this time onward the power of Rome in Britain was subjected to constant attack, and there was apparently the additional danger of mutiny amongst the legions, now largely British. But despite this the period is one of prosperity. The Emperors, notably Constantine the Great, resided for long periods in the island. Its agricultural richness is seen in its sending of corn to the lower Rhine as late as 360. The tin mines were being worked with energy. About this date the various attacks began to increase in intensity. The Picts and the Scots raided the western coasts incessantly from the Solway to the Bristol Channel, while the east and south resisted with difficulty the piratical attacks of the northmen. In 402 Alaric with

his Visigoths attacked Rome. Four years later the Roman troops in Britain mutinied. In 410 the Province is told, 'Defend yourselves', and the rule of Rome in Britain comes to an end. The way was now open for the Angles and their kinsmen.

105. Early history of the English settlement. When the Angles settled down in England they found some relics of Roman administration. There was some sort of municipal rule in the hands of the prominent Britons; the chiefs were local magistrates. Other evidences of the Roman genius for administration were to be found in the towns, roads, walls, ports, and forts; baths, coinage. The only united organization, however, was Christianity, which had existed in Britain since the year A.D. 314, although the bulk of the Britons were pagan, like the invaders.

Our evidence of what actually happened in the early years of the settlement is unreliable. The authorities are Gildas, a churchman of the west country, who wrote in 540, and who had no reason to be biased in favour of heathen pirates; the *Historia Brittonum* of 685, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* of 731; and *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* inspired by King Alfred the Great, which gathered together the records of certain monasteries.

It seems clear, however, that there was strong resistance to the invaders, whose early settlements were on the east coast, from Lothian to the Humber. They had a Northumbrian kingdom by the end of the sixth century. Gradually petty kingdoms were established in the south-east, south, and as far west as Southampton Water. One of the British strongholds was at Dumbarton—'Alclyde'—on the estuary of the River Clyde, as its natural rock fortress provided a rallying point. About this time there was a British revival under Vortigern, a king in South Wales; but in 441 he hired the services of the pirates against the Picts and Scots. The mercenaries ultimately turned against their employer, sacked the country, and established

themselves gradually from Northumberland to the Channel. It is interesting to remember that King Arthur of the legends was a real prince in the west of England, who led the British resistance to the newcomers about the year 550

In this year there were the following English settlements . the kingdom of Kent . the settlements of the South Saxons, East Saxons, and West Saxons ; East Anglia . Mercia : Deira : Bernicia. Kent became powerful at an early date, and in 575 King Æthelbert of Kent was overlord of all the settlements as far north as the Humber. Meantime in the north King Æthelfrith was adding to the territories of Northumbria (593-617). In 597 the Christian mission sent by Pope Gregory and led by Augustine landed in Kent, and found there a Christian queen, Bertha, the wife of King Æthelbert, and the daughter of the Merovingian king of Paris . Through her influence Æthelbert and his leading subjects were baptized, and Augustine was given Canterbury as his see. In 625 Æthelbert's daughter married King Edwin of Northumbria, and gradually the whole land became Christianized . In 671 three strong English kingdoms are recognizable .—Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria. The period from 709 to 802 was the Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon England, chiefly on account of Bede who died at Jarrow in 735. In 793 occurred the first great Viking raid, which sacked Lindisfarne. In 796 Wessex was rising in power, and in 834 King Ecbert of Wessex was supreme throughout England. During this time the raids of the Vikings or Danes continue. By 840 they had established themselves in Northumbria, and the year 841 saw a landing at Lincoln. The following year they were bought off by London, which was threatened with attack. By 846 they were wintering along the shores of the English Channel. In 849 King Alfred, who united England, was born.

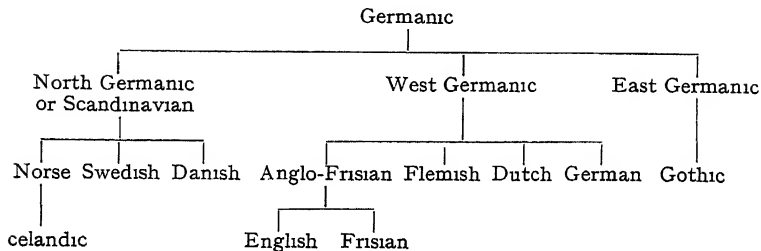
106. Map of the early settlement.



CHAPTER XIII

OLD ENGLISH

107. **The Old English language.** As has been shown in para 74, Old English is a member of the Germanic division of Indo-European —



At the time of the invasion it would appear that English was not yet divided into dialects, and that the invaders spoke more or less the same tongue. When they settled they found the Celtic language but despised it as the speech of slaves, borrowing very little from it. There was also, of course, Latin, from which a few terms were borrowed. On becoming insular the English language had few restraining influences to check its speedy change. It had no great literary tradition; in fact, no considerable literary tradition at all. Writing was not by any means a general accomplishment; and the Runic script which was employed was far from adequate. It is to be noted in this connexion that the word Rune signifies something mysterious; thus revealing the common attitude towards writing. There being no standard language of a literary nation, dialects sprang up at an early date.

108. Characteristics of Old English. The general character of the language was that of Germanic, which it resembled closely. It had the same systems of noun and verb inflexion, the strong verbs, the initial accent of intensity, the grammatical gender, the non-absolute order of words in a sentence, and so on. There were, however, certain general changes :—

(a) Palatalization, i.e. the vowels becoming more closed in pronunciation. This change took place in both English and Frisian, and while it is not a Germanic change it is probably pre-invasion. It affected the vowels a, e, i, o, u; thus a became æ in Old English and e in Frisian, except before w, nasals, and in a few other cases.

Examples :—

Germanic	dag	fat	akr	latan	rad
German ..	tag	fass	acker	lassen	rat
Frisian ..	deg	fet	ekker	leta	red
Old English	dæg	fæt	æcer	lætan	ræd

The same thing took place with au, eu, iu.

Examples :—

Germanic	baum	leuf	liude
German ..	baum	lieb	leute
Old English	beam	leof	liode

This change due to palatalization did not take place when there was a following syllable with the vowel a, o, or u.

Example :—

nom sing	dæg	nom. plur.	dagas
	bæth		bathu
	blæd		bladu
	fæt		fatu

(b) Breaking. This would appear to be later than Palatalization, as it does not occur in Frisian or any other Germanic language. It is one of the unique characteristics of Old English.

It affects the vowels a, e, i

a becomes ea	}	before h, alone or with another consonant.
e becomes eo		before r, plus r or other consonant.
i becomes io		before l, plus l or other consonant. (e only before lh or lk.)

Examples :—

Germanic	sah	nah	wahsjian	ahta	
Gothic ..	sahu	nehw	wahsjan	ahtau	
Old High					
German	sah	nahe	wahsan	ahto	
Old English	seah	neah	weaxan	eahta	
English ..	saw	near	wax	eight	
Germanic	arn	barn	hard	al	fall
Gothic ..	aern	barn	hardus	alls	fallan
Old English	earn	bearn	heard	eall	feallan
English ..	eagle	bairn	hard	all	fall
Gothic ..	falthan	kalds	salzt	haldan	hals
Old High					
German	faldan	kalt	salz	haltan	hals
Old English	fealdan	ceald	sealt	healdan	heals
English ..	fold	cold	salt	hold	neck
Germanic	fehu	feht			
Gothic ..	faehu			saehs	raehts
Old High					
German	fihu	fehtan	kneht	sehs	reht
Old English	feoh	feohtan	cneoht	seox	reoht
English ..	fee	fight	knight	six	right
Germanic	fer			werk	
Gothic ..	faer	aertha	haerto	waerk	waerthan
Old High					
German	fern	erda	herza	werk	werdan
Old English	feorr	eorthe	heorte	weorc	weorthan
English ..	far	earth	heart	work	worth

Germanic	selh	melk	
Gothic	..		
Old High			
German	selah	melk	scelah
Old English	seolh	meolc	sceolh
English	.. seal	milk	(wry)
Germanic	mihst	tihhojan	irr
Gothic	.. maehstus		
Old High			
German	mist		ierre
Old English	miox (meox)	teohhian	iorre (ierre)
English	.. (mīxen)		ire
Germanic	hird		
Gothic	.. haerda		
Old High			
German	hirri		
Old English	hiorde (hierde)		
English	.. herd (i e. shepherd)		

(c) Umlaut. This sound change, called also mutation or metaphony, is a change in the vowel sound, like breaking, and resembles it also in being a combinative change, as distinct from an isolative change, since it is due to the influence of neighbouring sounds. Palatalization is, on the other hand, an isolative change, as it does not depend upon the neighbouring sounds, but probably upon new habits of articulation. Umlaut is a more ancient sound change than either of the other two, and is a relic of a process going back to Indo-European sound changes, where a vowel, whether accented or not, may be influenced by another vowel following it, with which the first vowel more or less identifies itself, a process of assimilation. Examples of it are to be found in Greek and Latin also :—

semilis becomes similis
ne nill becomes nihil

The common umlaut in Old English is i-umlaut. Wherever short a was followed by a syllable containing i or j, it was assimilated to the i or j

Examples :—

Gothic	.. badi	batixa	hafjan	lagjan	halja	twalif
Old English	bedd	betera	hebban	lecgan	hell	twelf
English	.. bed	better	heave	lay	hell	twelve

Gothic	.. andeis	sanjan	brannjan	rannjan	tanthiz
Old English	ende	sendan	baernan	aernan	teth
English	.. end	send	burn	run	teeth

Gothic	.. fealljan	althiza	mawilo	aerzeis	haerdeis
Old English	fiellan	ieldra	meowle	eorre,	heorde,
				ierre	hier
English	.. fell	elder	girl	ireful	herd

Gothic	.. fulljan	brunjo	dauhtar	maurgins
Old English	fyllan	byrne	dohtor,	morgen mergen
			dehter (dat)	
English	.. fill	breast-plate	daughter	morning

Gothic	..	kuni	bugjan	waurts
Old English	cyning	cynn	bycgan	wyrt
English	.. king	kin	buy	root

Latin (by

borrowing)	coquina	culina	puteum
Old English	cycene	cylen	pytt
English	.. kitchen	kiln	pit

Germanic	fotiz	sokjan (Gothic)	brothar
Old English	fet	secan	brether (dat)
English	.. feet	seek	brother

109. **Other vowel changes.** (a) The Germanic vowel u which had become o when followed by a in the termination returns to u in Old English.

Examples —

Germanic	..	.		
Gothic	..	..	fugls	wulfs
Old High German			fogal	wolf
Old English	..		fugol	wulf
English	..	..	fowl	wolf

This change took place before the invasion, probably about A D. 400

(b) **Vowel contraction** This took place in Old English when intervocalic j, h, w disappeared

Examples :—

Gothic	..	frijonds	Old English	..	freond	friend
		fijands			feond	enemy
		fohan			fon	seize
		seohan			seon	see
		sleahan			slean	slay
		neahur			near	near
		trewa			treo	tree
		fawu			fea	few
		cnewa			cneo	knee

(c) The Germanic diphthong ai becomes e in Old Frisian, but is simplified to a in Old English This change is therefore later than the fifth century A D

Examples :—

Gothic	..	stains	hails	haitan	taikns
Old German		stein	heil	heizan	zeihhan
Old English		stan	hal	hatan	tacn
English	..	stone	hale	name	token

(d) **Influence of nasals** In Germanic the tendency with short a, i, u, plus n plus h was to eliminate the nasal and to compensate by lengthening the vowel. The process was continued in Old English, the long vowel becoming ö.

Examples :—

Germanic	branhtom	thunhtom			
Gothic ..	brahta	thuhta	anthar	samfto	fimf
Old English	brohte	thohte	other	softe	fif
English ..	brought	thought	other	soft	five

A somewhat similar change occurs with n and m, when followed by f, s, th, or h.

Examples .—

Germanic					
Gothic ..	samfto	fimf	swinths	gans	kunths
Old English	softe	fif	swith	gos	cuth
English ..	soft	five	(strong)	goose	-couth

In Old English of about the eighth century there is a curious hesitation between a and o in words where the primitive vowel was followed by a nasal. Thus we have mann or monn, nama or noma, etc

(e) The Second Palatalization The date of this change was probably about the seventh century It is thus later than the first palatalization and breaking It affects g, k, h, and sk.

Initial g and k become gj and kj when followed by a primitive palatal vowel which has become ie, ae, io, eo, ea, by breaking, and sk becomes skj :—

Gothic ..	kinnus	skal	skildus	skip
Old English	cunn	sceal	sciæld	scip
English ..	chin	shall	shield	ship

It cannot be proved that this change took place in Old English All we can postulate is that it had taken place by the beginning of the Middle English period The change was not due to Norse or Danish influences, which tended to strengthen the original sound (see para 122) All that we know for certain is that Old English had a guttural and a palatal k, that the former was sometimes written k and the latter always c, and that the two k-sounds had separate characters in the Old English Runic alphabet.

110. Consonant changes. (a) Assimilation The consonants f, th, s, became voiced between two voiced syllables.

Examples :—

Gothic	..	skufła	wulf	brothar	hus	krusan
Old English		sceofl	wulfas	brothor	hus	ceosan
English	..	shovel	wolves	brother	house	choose

Similarly the consonants s and l, when followed by r, became ss and ll by assimilation Thus :—

Gothic	..	laesira	thisra
Old English	..	laessa	thissa
English	.	lesser	this

(b) Metathesis, i.e. the transposition of a consonant, usually r, before an original short vowel followed by n, nn, s, s plus consonant, and s final

Examples :—

Gothic	..	rinnan	brinnan	hross	fristiz
Old English		iernan	baernan	hors	first
English	..	run	burn	horse	first

(c) Elision In very early times n disappeared before th and s. Thus .—

Gothic	..	kunths	anthar	uns	munths
Old English		cuth	other	us	muth
English	..	couth	other	us	mouth

t often disappeared between consonants :—

faestnian	>	faesnian
rihtlice	>	rihlice

Elision affected h particularly. Thus :—

ne habban	>	nabban
ne haefde	>	naefde
frihals	>	freols
lichoma	>	licuma
or haitan	>	orettan
wael hreow	>	waelreow

It also disappears before s.

111. Accent in Old English. It has been shown that in Germanic accent took the place of the Indo-European tone (para. 83). This accent fell generally on the root syllable, which was the first syllable of the Germanic word, and was the syllable carrying the meaning. In Old English the same thing occurs: the accent falls on the first syllable of the noun, verb, preposition, adjective, etc. Thus:—

gi'efu, ri'ccere, fo'lgian, un'der, mi'cel, etc.

In compound words the part which carries the meaning carries the accent.

Prefixes do not carry the accent. Thus:—

forle'osan, to lose

nithersti'gan, to go down

Sometimes there is a secondary accent. Thus:—

aetheli'ngas fultomo'de mathelo'de

This gives us the beginning of that iambic rhythm so characteristic of English verse.

112. The Old English noun declension. (A) Strong declension, comprising nouns whose stems ended originally in a vowel

(a) The a-declension. Masculine and neuter nouns only.

N.	..	stan	stanas
A.	..	stan	stanas
G.	..	stanes	stana
D.	..	stane	stanum

Many masculine nouns belong to this declension. There are also neuters with N.A. in -u. Some nouns end in -jo and -wo originally.

(b) The o-declension. This declension contains feminine nouns only.

N.	..	giefu	giefe (a)
A.	..	giefe	giefe (a)
G.	..	giefe	giefa
D.	..	giefe	giefum

(c) The i-declension There are nouns of all three genders in this declension

N.	..	wine	wine
A	.	wine	wine
G	..	wines	wina (winigea)
D.	.	wine	winum

The analogical influence of the two previous declensions has troubled the i-declension profoundly, so that we find :—

N.A. plural .. winas (friends)

(d) The u-declension It includes masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns Many of them passed over to the a-declension and o-declension in prehistoric times

N.	..	sunu	sunu
A	..	sunu	sunu
G	..	sunu	sunu
D.	..	sunu	sunum

(B) Weak declension. This declension contains nouns of all three genders, e.g. the words for man, tongue, and eye :—

		Singular	Plural
N.	..	guma tunge eage	guman tungan eagan
A.	..	guman tungan eagan	guman tungan eagan
G.	..	guman tungan eagan	gumena tungena eagen
D.	..	guman tungan eagan	gumum tungum eagum

(C) Minor declensions In addition to the above two classes of strong and weak declensions there are minor declensions, such as nouns with monosyllabic consonant stems, e.g. fot, boc ; stems in th, e.g. monath ; stems in r, e.g. faeder ; stems in nd, e.g. freond.

113. **The Old English verb.** As in Germanic (para. 90) the Old English verbs are divided into two classes, strong and weak. The former form their preterite and past participle by means of ablaut ; the latter by the addition of a syllable with a dental Thus :—

(A) Strong verbs. (1) Class I. With the original ablaut series i, ai, i, 1.

(2) Class II. With the original ablaut series eu, au, u, o

Class III. With the original ablaut series i (e), a, u, u (o).

Class IV. With the original ablaut series e, ae, ae, o

Class V. With the original ablaut series e, ae, ae, e

Class VI. With the original ablaut series a, o, o, ae (a)

Class VII. With original reduplicated preterites

Examples :—

Class	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
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Present Indicative Singular :—

1	ride	ceose	binde	bere	bidde	fare	fealle
2	ritst	ciest	bintst	birst	bitst	faerst	fielst
3.	rit(t)	ciest	bint	birth	bit(t)	faerth	fielth

Plural :—

ridath	ceosath	bindath	berath	biddath	farath	feallath
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Preterite Indicative Singular :—

1	rad	ceas	band	baer	baed	for	feoll
2.	ride	cure	bunde	baere	baede	fore	feolle
3.	rad	ceas	band	baer	baed	for	feoll

Plural :—

ridon	curon	bundon	baeron	baedon	foron	feollon
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Infinitive :—

ridan	ceosan	bindan	beran	biddan	faran	feallan
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Present Participle :—

ridende	ceosende	bindende	berende	biddende	farende	feal- lende
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Past Participle :—

riden	coren	bunden	boren	beden	faren	feallen
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(B) Weak verbs. The great majority of Old English verbs are weak verbs. They fall into three divisions :—

Class I. In which the infinitive, preterite, and past participle end in -an, ede, de, -te, and -ed, -d, -t respectively.

Class II. In which these terminations are -ian, -ode, -and, -od.

Class III. In which these terminations are -an, -de, -d.

Class	I	II	III
Present Indicative Singular :—			
1.	sette	lufie	haebbe
2	setst	lufast	haefst
3.	set(t)	lufath	haefth
Plural —			
	settath	lufiath	habbath
Preterite Indicative Singular :—			
1.	sette	lufode	haefde
2	settest	lufodest	haefdest
3	sette	lufode	haefde
Plural .—			
	setton	lufodon	haefdon
Infinitive —			
	settan	lufian	habban
Present Participle :—			
	settende	lufiende	haebbende
Past Participle :—			
	gesett	gelufod	gehaefd

In addition to these main divisions, there are certain other classes of verbs, e.g. those with an original unreduplicated preterite, with a present meaning, and a new weak preterite, and some relics of the Indo-European class of verbs in -mi

114. The adjective.

(A) Strong declension.

		M.	F.	N.
Singular	N	.. sum	sumu	sum
	A	.. sumne	sume	sum
	G.	.. sumes	sumre	sumes
	D.	.. sumum	sumre	sumum
Plural	N.	.. sume	sume	sumu
	A.	.. sume	sume	sumu
	G	.. sumra	sumra	sumra
	D,	.. sumum	sumum	sumum

(B) Weak declension

Singular	N.	..	goda	gode	gode
	A.	..	godan	godan	gode
	G.	..	godan	godan	godan
	D.	..	godan	godan	godan
Plural	N.	..	godan	godan	godan
	A.	..	godan	godan	godan
	G.	.	godena	godra	godena godra
	D.	..	godum	godum	godum

(C) Comparison of adjectives Of the several Indo-European suffixes denoting comparison, only one remained in Germanic, -is, which became -iz, to which was added at a very early stage the suffix -en, -on. This iz became -ir, and subsequently -r in Old English by Verner's Law. The full suffix exists in forms like Old English genitive plural, e.g. swaetran. Some adjectives formed the comparative by umlaut, e.g. eald, ieldra; lang, lengra. These comparatives were declined according to the weak declension. To form the superlative the original superlative suffix in Indo-European, -to, was added to the above suffix -is, signifying the comparative degree, thus swetesta, sweetest; cf. Greek hedistos, etc. A new form, -ost, from a new Germanic comparative -oz was also used. The weak declension was usually employed for superlatives.

115. The pronoun in Old English.

i. The personal pronoun had the following forms:—

				First Person		
				Singular	Dual	Plural
N.	..	ic			wit	we
A.	..	mec, me			uncit, unc	us
G.	..	min			uncer	ure
D.	..	me			unc	us
				Second Person		
N.	..	thu			git	ge
A.	..	the			incit, inc	eow
G.	..	thin			incer	eower
D.	.	the			inc	us

		Third Person			
		Singular		Plural all genders	
		M.	F.	N.	
N.	..	he	heo	hit	hie
A.	..	hine	hie	hit	hie
G.	..	his	hiere	his	hiera, heora
D.	..	him	hiere	him	him

(2) The demonstrative was declined thus :—

		M.	F.	N.	Plural all genders
N.	..	se	seo	thaet	tha
A.	..	thone	tha	thaet	tha
G.	..	thaes	thaere	thaes	thaera, thara
D.	..	thaem	thaere	thaem, tham	thaem, tham
Inst.	..			thy, thon	

(3) The interrogative had the following forms :—

		M.	N.
N.	..	hwa	hwaet
A.	..	hwone	hwaet
G.	..	hwaes	hwaes
D.	..	hwaem, hwam	hwaem, hwam
Inst.	..		hwy, hwi

In addition to these were the forms, *hu*, how? *hwaether*, which of two? *hwelc*, what sort of? and *for hwon*, why?

116. **The adverb and preposition in Old English.** The adverb was generally formed by adding -e to the adjective; e.g. *sothe*, truly; *sweetole*, clearly. When the adjective ended in -e the adverb was the same as the adjective.

Old English prepositions governed their substantives in the accusative case, the genitive case, and the dative case.

From the above paragraphs it is clearly established that Old English was a synthetic and inflective language. Above all, it was very similar to Germanic, whereas modern English is not, on account of its history subsequent to the time of King Alfred.

FROM KING ALFRED TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST

117. **King Alfred**, the first great Englishman born and bred of whom we have any considerable knowledge, was King of Wessex from 871 to 900. It is true that Bede—the Venerable Bede—was a great Englishman, and known to us by his writings; but he did not make the history of England. Alfred's work was all practical and national, and it has endured despite the rule of foreign kings, notably Canute the Dane and William the Norman. He was, moreover, the first champion of Christian Europe who was successful against the Vikings. He achieved national unity. He was a good fighter and administrator, a victorious general, the founder of the English Navy, rebuilder of the great organizations of Church and State, a scholar and author, lover of the poetry of England and the culture of Rome, interested in travellers. One important side of his activities was the setting up of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the earliest historical work in any modern language. In it he collected the national songs also. At the same time he translated into English Orosius, Bede, Boethius, Gregory the Great. He was a man of ideas and energy. Fortunately for us he found a biographer in Bishop Asser, a churchman of his own time.

Defeated at Wilton in 871, Alfred bought off the Danes, and during the respite he built a navy and reorganized his land forces. The Danes were then powerful in the north and midlands. Guthrum, their leader, was established at Cambridge, but, reinforced by newcomers, invaded Wessex in 876, the only part of the country worth plundering. Alfred arranged a treaty, and again bought his enemies off.

They broke the treaty, but their fleet was wrecked, and they left Wessex. In 878 Guthrum invaded Wiltshire. King Alfred sought refuge in Athelney, from which place he was able to make occasional sallies. At Easter of the same year he defeated them at Ethandune. The Treaty of Wedmore was signed and the Danes settled down peacefully in East Anglia, the truce continuing until 892. By the year 886 Alfred was king of all England. He possessed a strong fleet, established an effective land force, and fortified several towns. He inflicted final defeats upon the Danes from 893 to 896 and had peace thereafter until his death.

118. **King Alfred's influence upon Old English.** Alfred was himself a scholar, and he attracted scholars to England. He was instrumental in establishing schools throughout his kingdom for the sons of freemen, and he stipulated that they should learn first their native language—English. By his own writings, e.g. translations of Orosius, Boethius, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, etc., he helped to standardize the language; while the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was of the highest importance from the linguistic, not less than from the historical and literary, points of view.

The Chronicle exists in six manuscripts, five of which are complete. The sixth has perished, but not before its text had been printed. A seventh manuscript contains only a synopsis, and is bilingual, being in Old English and Latin. There is also a single page of an eighth manuscript, now lost. They are all based upon an original chronicle compiled under the inspiration of King Alfred and circulated to several different monasteries; but they differ so radically in the later period as almost to deserve to be called separate chronicles. There had existed, of course, prior to this, annals, and genealogical lists of kings, archbishops, bishops, etc. When the Venerable Bede (673–735) wrote his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (in Latin) he had gathered his materials from Roman writers,

native chronicles, biographies, records, and public documents, in addition to the oral and written help of his contemporaries. Doubtless, moreover, there were extant verses about striking events in the various reigns. Unfortunately, these sources were widely scattered. Alfred's Chronicle was an attempt to bring them all together and get a complete record. Some historians state that there was a Chronicle from 755 to 855, and that Alfred brought it up to date about 892 and worked it back to the introduction of Christianity (A.D. 597). When completed it was sent to various monasteries, e.g. Winchester, Abingdon, Peterborough, Evesham, Canterbury. From this period we have increasing divergencies in a text originally one, due to varying knowledge or lack of information, priority of local events, local bias; until the Chronicles came finally to an end, the last being the Peterborough Chronicle with an entry dated 1154.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle furnishes the earliest historical prose in any European language. It includes poetry, the first poem being *The Battle of Brunanburh* in 937. Not only does it standardize the language, but it also reveals dialectal variations and the usual development of a language for a period of three hundred years, until it had almost ceased to be Old English at all.

The following extract, from King Alfred's letter on the state of learning in England, is a characteristic example of Old English prose:—

Gedon swae we swithe eathe magon mid Godes fultume gif we tha stilnesse habbath, thaette eall sio goiguth the nu is on Angelkynne friora monna, thara the tha speda haebben thaet hie thaem befeolan maegen, sien to liornunga othfaeste, tha hwile the hie to nanre otherre note ne maegen, oth thone first the hie wel cunnen Englisc gewrit araedan.

(That we may bring it to pass, as we may very easily with God's help if we have peace that all the youth of free men who now are in England, of those

who have riches that they may apply themselves to it, may be set to learning, while they may not be set to any other employment until they first understand well English writing)

Certain characteristics of Old English may be discerned even in this short extract, such as :—the entire absence of borrowings from the classical languages, Latin and Greek, i.e. the self-contained vocabulary ; the free order of words ; the indefiniteness of the relative pronouns, the rich inflexional system ; the use of the subjunctive mood, etc

119. Beowulf. It is impossible to discuss Old English without a passing reference to the poem *Beowulf*, the most important literary document preserved by any Germanic language, and the only long early poem high in dignity. The actual manuscript is late West Saxon, probably dating about A.D. 1000, but from internal evidence it is clear that there was an Anglian original. As we have it, it is in the shape of a continuous epic ; but it is based upon a series of short lays, each dealing with a single incident, and recited by professional bards, called *Scops* because they shaped their subjects and then recited them to the accompaniment of the harp. As a rule the adventures they related were perfectly familiar to their audiences. In the poem there is much historical detail, taking us back several hundred years. This mass of detail, before the era of writing, was preserved by these *Scops*, committed to memory and handed down from generation to generation. The fact of outstanding importance is that the history is entirely continental, dealing with continental kings and chiefs. Tribes such as the Geats and the Frisians are mentioned. There is an account of an expedition to the lower Rhine, which is mentioned in the Chronicle of Gregory of Tours, about A.D. 512–520. The Merovingian dynasty is alluded to as if still existing. As it fell in 751, the poem must be anterior to that year, and is therefore not an English poem at all, but a translation from a Danish original. The

historical references are all anterior to the final settlement of the English in England, and the scenery is that of the neighbourhood of the ancient home of the English. The importance given to the legend of the Mercian royal house of Offa is obvious. *Beowulf* came with the invaders from the continent, it preserves most clearly the continental usages; it is at bottom pagan.

The author is unknown; but the style is uniform, and points to a single hand. He was familiar with the etiquette of courts, and it is probable that he composed his poem while residing at a large court. Such Christian references as there are need not have caused the poet much trouble, as they were common enough property even as early as A.D. 700, when the poem was probably composed.

120. From Alfred's death to 1066. King Alfred was succeeded by Edward the Elder, in the very first year of whose reign occurred Danish raids. Edward ravaged the permanent Danish settlements at Bedford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and the Fens. The result was a treaty in 903. In 910 he defeated them again. Rolf the Ganger was now (in 911) settled in Normandy, and a period of Viking colonization in Ireland, Iceland, and the Hebrides had begun. Edward reconquered the Danelaw in 917, and had a royal progress to Leicester and Stamford. Thus Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria were under English rule. In 919 the Scots submitted to Edward, as there were Danish settlements in the Orkneys, Caithness, Sutherland, the Hebrides, and Argyle, and the King of Scots wished to secure a strong ally against these.

When Edward died in 924 he was succeeded by Athelstan, who had a war with the Scots, and defeated them at the battle of Brunanburh in 937, although arrayed against him were Picts, Scots, Welsh from Strathclyde, and Vikings from the north and west (even to Dublin). His victory secured this ancient English empire. He died in 939 and his successors Edmund and Edred also fought against the

Danes The famous churchman, Dunstan, was Archbishop of Canterbury in these times, a man of dreams and visions, learning and piety Under Edgar, who died in 975, there was peace. He was rowed on the River Dee by vassal kings, and there was a religious revival under the inspiration of Dunstan. In 978, after the murder of Edward the Martyr, Æthelred the Unready or Redeless mounted the throne It is now that the great Viking raids begin, to be followed by great invasions, and finally by the conquest of England In 991, after the battle of Maldon, an attempt was made to buy off the pirates In 994 Sweyn, the Viking chief, son of the King of Denmark and a pagan, attacked London but was beaten off, and subsequently bought off. He wintered at Southampton, and about that time succeeded to the Danish throne. In 1002 he was again bought off, and Æthelred married the daughter of the Duke of Normandy.

This marriage had momentous consequences, as it brought Norman adventurers to England. The massacre of the Danes on St. Brice's Day led to fresh attacks by Sweyn In 1007 he was again bribed. In 1009 he held Canterbury to ransom He made another attempt on London, to be bought off once more. In 1013 the country submitted to Sweyn, and Æthelred fled to Rouen in Normandy The following year Sweyn, who was also King of Norway, died Æthelred returned, but Sweyn's son, Canute invaded the country and Wessex submitted Æthelred died in 1016. He was succeeded by Edmund, who after suffering defeat entered into a pact whereby Canute took the north and Edmund the south. The latter dying the same year, Canute was chosen King, married the widow of Æthelred, and ruled through Englishmen. He imposed the Danegeld, but conciliated the opinion of England and respected its religion At this time, then, Canute was king of a northern empire, including Scandinavia and Denmark, of which England was the centre. He died in 1035 and his son Hardicanute in 1042, upon which Edward

the Confessor came to the throne. Descended from the house of Alfred, he had spent his early life in Normandy and had a Norman mother. He was therefore partial to Normans. After fighting against the celebrated Macbeth Edward died in 1066. The crown devolved upon Harold, son of Godwin ; but he was defeated and slain at the battle of Hastings and William the Conqueror became King of England.

121. Word borrowings before the Norman Conquest.

A relatively small number of foreign words was introduced into England before the Anglo-Saxon invasion. These are glanced at in para. 94 and are chiefly from Latin. It is difficult to fix the exact date of such new words, but those which have undergone Germanic or Old English sound changes are clearly ancient. These include :—chalk (*calcem*), kettle (*catillus*), kiln (*culina*), kitchen (*coquina*), mat (*matta*), mill (*molina*), mint (*moneta*), paper (*papyrus*), pillow (*pulvinus*), scuttle (*scutella*), sickle (*secula*), tile (*tegula*), belt (*balteus*), silk (*serocum*), pound (*pondo*), inch (*uncia*), plum (*prunum*), poppy (*papaver*), pine (*poena*), angel (*angellus*), bishop (*episcopus*), church (*cyriaca*), cowl (*cucullus*), devil (*diabolus*), priest (*presbyter*), minster (*monasterium*), provost (*praepositus*), binn (*benna*), gem (*gemma*), nun (*nonna*), monk (*monachus*), copper (*cuprum*). Most of these are words of frequent employ, which accounts for their early conformity with English sounds.

Some words, such as *caster*, *street*, *wall*, *fosse*, *port*, *colony*, *wine*, and other terms used by soldiers, were in use in Britain before the arrival of the English, who may have taken them over. It is infinitely more probable, however, that they were common to all the Germanic languages along the borders of the Roman Empire.

Other Latin words of this period include :—*anchor*, *box*, *butter*, *cheese*, *dish*, *fork*, *pole*, *purse*, *tun*, *cap*, *sock*, *tunic*, *circle*, *mile*, *noon*, *pea*(*cock*), *mussel*, *trout*, *cedar*, *palm*,

pear, rose, lily, pepper, castle, fever, school, offer, shrive, spend, stop, turn, false, alms, altar, apostle, candle, clerk, martyr, pall, pope, prime, shrine, temple, oyster, leopard, marble.

From prehistoric unknown languages :—silver, hemp, smith (all found in English before the invasion) and many place names, probably Iberian, in Britain.

From Celtic :—ric (as in bishopric) and leech (a doctor), which are pre-invasion ; bannock, bratt, brock, carr, combe, down, hassock, loch , also perhaps basket, barrow, bran, clout, cradle, crockery, coble, mattock. These are chiefly terms relating to servitude

122. Norse or Scandinavian borrowings. It has been shown earlier (para. 104) that in the third and fourth centuries after Christ Britain was subjected to continuous piratical raids by the Angles and Saxons prior to their settlement in and conquest of the country, and that in the year 286 it had been found necessary to appoint an official called 'The Count of the Saxon Shore' to resist their attacks. History repeated itself from the eighth to the eleventh centuries when the Danes or Northmen or Vikings proved themselves the lineal piratical successors of their kinsmen the Angles and Saxons.

The first mention of the coming of the Danes is an entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle at the date 787 :—' In Beorhtric's day came first three ships, and the reeve rode thereto and was for driving them to the king's town, for he knew not what they were, and he was slain. These were the first ships of Danish men which sought the land of England.' At the date 851 we are told further that in that year the Danes first remained over winter. By 878 they had settled down in the Danelaw, i.e. the district of England under Danish jurisdiction ; and King Alfred's settlement with Guthrum, their leader, known as the Treaty of Wedmore, has been referred to (para. 118). This gave the Danes practically two-thirds of England :

viz. all Northumbria, all East Anglia, and half of central England. Thereafter they continued to live side by side with the English ; by 924 they had joined with the rest of the inhabitants in choosing Alfred's son for their king ; and finally supplied a Danish king to England in the person of Canute ; their influence naturally remaining strong until his death in 1035. For a period of 250 years, therefore, we have this intimate foreign influence upon the English language.

These invaders were a part of the great movement which sent the Northmen colonizing from Iceland to Constantinople. They were heathens, and the chronicles usually refer to them as ' the heathen men ', just as their army is ' the *here* ', from the Old English word ' to pillage '. Consequently they were inimical to culture and civilization ; and learning did not prosper during their ascendancy. The borrowings from Danish are, therefore, all popular ; but there is this much to be said for the Scandinavian influence : that it gave a native impetus to its sister language, English, which might otherwise have been too greatly subordinated to Latin influences. The greater fertility and elasticity of the northern language and its vitality were transferred to English, while there is, of course, to be found an accelerated levelling of inflexions which results naturally from the interfusion of two languages.

There is an initial difficulty in distinguishing Norse from English words : namely, the close affinity of the two languages. As has been shown (para. 73) English was probably as close to the Scandinavian branch of Germanic as to the West Germanic branch, and the ' link ' language ; the Angles and Saxons were originally northern peoples, blood relations of the Danes and Northmen. Customs, religion, and social order were the same. Interfusion was so easy of accomplishment in either the peoples or the speech that subsequent differentiation became almost impossible. A very large number of words are identical in the two languages, and these the most familiar :—man,

wife, father, mother, thing, house, life, summer, winter, will, can, meet, come, bring, hear, see, etc.

So long as they were heathen raiders and enemies the Danes gave few words, and these were chiefly military, such as the Danish name of a warship (cneor), or that of a coin (ora). After the settlement and amalgamation of the two peoples there must have been a couple of generations of bilingual speakers, with the inevitable tendency to introduce words of the second language into the first. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle betrays little Danish influence, but the popular vocabulary must soon have included alien borrowings. We find the following words, dealing chiefly with law and administration :—crave, husting, law, shift, riding, outlaw, by-law, sackless, also arrow, boatswain, steersman, aloft, husband, earl, thrall; call, hit, take, busk, addle, drown, egg on; fellow, scrip, toft, handfast, skill, ill, gait, tyke, tarn, though, aye, booth. In addition there are the terminations of place-names — -by, -thorp, -wick, -fell, -ness, -beck, -oe, -thwaite. The personal names ending in -son are from Danish (the English ending is -ing). More important are the Danish words which became an integral part of English speech :—they, their, them (among the pronouns); the use of shall and will, and the form *are* (in the verb). These occur in the *Battle of Maldon* (992) and are thus early. There are new suffixes, as in babble and batten. Weakening pronunciations are strengthened, as w to gg, hagg for hew, trig for true, garth for yard, there is also the form kirk for church. Along with the English initial sc- we find the stronger form sk-, as scatter, shatter; scot, shot, skirt, shirt; scream, screech, shriek; forming doublets. Some obsolescent words, such as death, are revived by the Danes, and some Old English words take on a Danish meaning, e.g. dream (originally joy). The influence is naturally seen more strongly in East Midland writers like Orm than in West Saxon writers like Layamon.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

123. The Normans. At the time of the first Viking raid on England, the neighbouring country of France was finding in these pirates a serious menace. The great Emperor Charlemagne had, unfortunately, not organized a navy, and in the eighth century France was subjected to many ruthless attacks. In 842 the Northmen captured Rouen at the mouth of the Seine, and from their headquarters ravaged the river valley as far inland as Paris. In 866 was fought a pitched battle at Brissarthe, the invaders being victorious, as were their kinsmen in England against Alfred at Wilton. In 881 the French king defeated the Viking raiders who had already been repulsed from England; but in 886 the Northmen of Rouen, helped by their kinsmen from the Loire, the Garonne, and England, laid siege to Paris. In 898 their leader Rolf or Rollo, devastated Paris, Tours, and other French towns; but in 911 he was baptized and accepted Normandy as a fief of the French crown. William the Conqueror was the descendant of this Rolf. Upon the death of Edward the Confessor he claimed the English throne on the grounds that he had been promised it by the saintly Edward and that Harold had sworn to respect this promise.

124. The Norman Conquest. The Normans from the Duchy of Normandy were allied in blood and speech with the English whom they defeated at Hastings in 1066, and the Norman Conquest was a Viking colonization, differing little from the similar settlements in Italy, the Hebrides, Iceland, Ireland, and elsewhere. Unlike the

Anglo-Saxon settlers, however, who despised the Celtic speech of the Britons and imposed their own tongue upon the vanquished, the Normans had adopted the language of the land they settled in, that is, French, instead of retaining their own Scandinavian speech. French, although spoken by a people mainly Celtic, was a descendant of Latin, i.e. of the Latin speech spoken by the Roman provincials in the ancient imperial province of Gaul. It is therefore akin to Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Roumanian: the Romance languages, as they are called. It is rather remarkable that first the Celtic inhabitants of France and next the northern Germanic invaders should give up their own language and accept another. As a rule the Indo-European languages are much more persistent. The important fact is that the language introduced into England by William the Conqueror and his followers was a form of the tongue of Cicero, Virgil, and Julius Cæsar. There was therefore considerable danger of English being replaced by this neo-Latin tongue, as had happened in France, Spain, Portugal, and Roumania; and indeed Norman-French became the language of the court, the aristocracy, of education, the law, the schools, until the fourteenth century, while it opened up a free way for the introduction of new foreign elements into English.

125. Borrowings from Norman French. With the establishment of a Norman king on the English throne, and of Norman nobles in forfeited English estates, their language became the official language of the nation. In all matters relating to law and administration, in the Church, in war and feudalism, in the chase and such refinements of civilization as cookery etc., Norman-French was used. It was taught in schools and was the fashionable tongue of the upper and educated classes. It opened up to the English a new literature. The people became bilingual; and for some time there existed side by side in the land two quite distinct and independent tongues

As, however, English was only the popular speech, it was difficult for its forms to be preserved and its standards to be maintained, especially as there was not a considerable body of English literature. Thus, while English in the twelfth century betrays very few French borrowings, it yet shows marked divergencies from the older language. The Peterborough Chronicle of 1154 reveals both these features. Even in the thirteenth century there were few borrowings. *Ormulum* contains few French words. Layamon, writing farther south, has an equally small proportion, as the *Brut* has only 170 Norman-French borrowings; while the *Ancren Riwle*, written for an educated class to whom both French and English would be familiar, has correspondingly more. Possibly the unification of the country, with the greater ease of intercommunication of English, kept it relatively pure. By the fourteenth century, however, the proportion of French words in English writings, even in the native alliterative poems, has become so great as to make English really a mixed language. One has only to look at the pages of Chaucer to see this, and yet Chaucer was much more conservative than most of his contemporaries, and used only French words already in common use.

A few Norman-French words were incorporated in English before William's invasion, on account of the close connexion between Rouen and England, Emma of Normandy having married Æthelred the Redeless. We may also assume that French words which have undergone the usual English sound changes are early importations. These are, as a rule, simple, usually monosyllabic words, the names of common things and ideas, e.g. *ache*, *age*, *air*, *art*, *branch*, *brief*, *breeze*, *brush*, *calm*, *cape*, *car*, *cell*, *chair*, *chance*, *change*, *cheer*, *chief*, *choice*, *crime*, *cry*, etc., etc.

We may therefore distinguish three different periods of French borrowings: (a) before the actual Conquest, due to the influence of Edward the Confessor: these were

Norman-French ; (b) Norman-French words under the earlier kings, lasting until about the accession of Edward I , and (c) Parisian French words in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, due to the study of French literature and to translations from that literature and from Italian through French. These divisions take us down to the end of the Middle Ages.

Characteristic borrowings of the second period are those found in the Chronicle before 1154, such as —castle, countess, court, empress, justice, miracle, peace, prison, privilege, procession, rent, standard, tower, treason, treasure, war. By 1250 the borrowings have increased greatly. It is hardly true to say that they relate to complex and abstract notions, or indeed to any particular class of word, although of course many of them refer to the new ideas of war and knighthood, feudalism and chivalry, religion and the church, government and the law courts. Characteristic of these are —fealty, homage, chivalry, duke, captain, forest, quarry, beef, mutton, veal, pork, chancellor, judge, parliament, court, sue, friar, penance, relic.

There were few changes in grammar, chief of these being the use of *of* to mark the possessive or genitive, and the use of the polite plural *you* for *thou*. Changes in spelling were rather more numerous. Thus *c* and *cw* are changed to *qu*, as in queen for cwen, quell for kill. In the same way *w* becomes *gu*, as ward, guard ; wile and guile, wise and guise. Between vowels *f* is softened to *v*, as even for efen, over for ofer. A new consonant *j* is introduced. The harsh combinations *hr* and *hw* become *r* and *wh*. The French plural in *s* becomes general, and the infinitive ending in *-en* is lost by 1400. The inflexion of adjectives and the grammatical gender of nouns disappear. The present participle ending is normally *-ing*. A multitude of English words went out of use, due partly to the substitution of French equivalents, and partly to the fact that these words belonged to literary as distinct from spoken

English, and since there was now very little English literature its special vocabulary tended to be forgotten and to disappear.

The most important fact so far as concerns the development of English was that the Norman Conquest opened a free way for foreign elements.

126. English or Norman-French : historical factors.

The strong popular feeling for the national language was fanned by several important historical facts. As early as 1088, or only twenty years after the Conquest, William II appealed to the English for help against his brother Robert and the Norman faction. Henry I married an English princess, daughter of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret of England, and transferred the seat of the central power from Rouen to England. After the rebellion in Normandy in 1102 and the defeat of the French forces at Tinchebrai in 1106, England becomes clearly the dominant partner. Although Henry II rebuilt the French connexions, against this must be set the growing importance of London and the consciousness of England's power in Europe. With Richard the Lion-hearted upon the throne the growth of the national spirit coincides with the charters which that impecunious monarch granted to London and other large towns. In 1204, under John, came the loss of Normandy. In 1214 he was defeated at Bouvines by the King of France, while the national spirit at home burst out in the Magna Charta of 1215.

Under Henry III, who married Eleanor of Provence, and indulged in French favourites, the spirit continued to grow. Parliament was developing at the same time. In 1264, at the Mise of Lewes, the King acknowledged popular power. Edward I, who ruled from 1272 to 1307, was a national king, whose struggle with Scotland fostered a feeling of patriotism and a parallel feeling of hatred of the French allies of the Scots. In 1295 Edward had appealed to all those who did not want the English language to be destroyed. Under

Edward III the Commons grow in power and the Hundred Years War begins, making England more insular. The national spirit is fanned by Crecy and Poitiers. We have Minot's patriotic poems. By 1384 London documents were written in English, by 1386 petitions to Parliament were in English. Abroad the French possessions were once more lost. At home the reform under Wyclif became a popular movement, and he the leader of a national party. French was now merely the fashionable language. Wat Tyler's revolt attested the growing power of the English democracy. The death of Henry V and the rise of Joan of Arc completed the separation of England and France, and the Wars of the Roses kept England engrossed with her internal problems. At every successive stage, therefore, Norman-French was being cut away more completely from its base.

127. English or Norman-French : other factors. While the Normans naturally enough used their own tongue, there is no evidence that they forced it upon the English. All the proofs are the other way. The first official document in French does not occur until 1215. Henry III's proclamation of 1258, the Provisions of Oxford, was in English as well as in French and Latin. The Conqueror himself was far too astute to alienate the native population. Henry I spoke English from childhood. Henry II understood it. In the reign of Richard I the Bishop of Coventry, a Norman, blamed the Bishop of Ely, also a Norman, because he could not speak English. Abbot Samson of St. Edmund's regarded it as praiseworthy that a churl could speak only English. In the thirteenth century a Bishop of York refused benefices to those who did not know English.

At the same time, although French was the language of half the courts of Europe, it was decaying as a spoken language in England and becoming old-fashioned. 'For French of Paris was to her unknown', wrote the travelled Chaucer of Madame Eglantine. By the middle of the

fourteenth century, when Edward III summoned Parliament in English, the ascendancy of English was complete. By the time of Henry V French had been abandoned entirely by the Court. It seems clear that the victorious Normans revealed an ever-increasing tendency to learn and use the speech of their new subjects, and that the persistence of French was due chiefly to cultural causes.

MIDDLE ENGLISH

128. It has already been shown (para 107) that Old English developed distinct dialects subsequent to the settlement. Northumbrian, spoken from the Humber to the Forth, Mercian, northwards from the Thames; West Saxon, south of the Thames and westwards, and Kentish, in Kent and Surrey. East Anglian, spoken in Norfolk and Suffolk, was considered to be a branch of Mercian. The first of these dialects to rise to greatness was Northumbrian or Anglian, in the eighth century, due to the greatness of Bede (died 734). West Saxon rose to supremacy in the ninth century under the inspiration of King Alfred, and it had a revival in the tenth under Ælfric.

It is probable that what we call Middle English was spoken in England before the Norman Conquest, although literary English was more conservative of the old forms. By Chaucer's time three well developed dialects had succeeded the corresponding Old English divisions:—Northern, Midland, and Southern, the last including Kentish. When finally English replaced French as the literary medium there were these three distinct dialects, in each of which texts are found.

129. **English literary revival.** The revival of learning under the Norman kings has three phases. There are, first of all, the English writers of Latin Chronicles. These chronicles were very full, and are of the greatest historical and social importance. The most celebrated are those of Geoffrey of Monmouth (1139-48), William of Malmesbury (twelfth century), Henry of Huntingdon (1125), Walter

Map (twelfth century), and Matthew Paris (thirteenth). Geoffrey of Monmouth's is the greatest of all, because although his *History of the Kings of Britain* cannot be considered a serious contribution to English history and is a prose romance, a palpable excursion into fiction so far as the Arthurian legend is concerned, yet 'he made the little finger of Arthur stouter than the back of Alexander the Great'. Poets great and small have been haunted by Geoffrey's fables. Chaucer gave him a high place in his *House of Fame*. Lear, Cymbeline, and Sabrina are names which link Geoffrey's memory for ever with the two supreme poetical geniuses of England. Thus his *History of the Kings of Britain* is the most significant product of the twelfth century.

The second phase of the revival of learning under the Normans arose from the presence of English scholars at the University of Paris, and the establishment of Oxford. The former University arose out of the Cathedral School of Notre Dame about 1130, where Abelard taught (d. 1142). The schools of Oxford date from about 1189 and grew famous under the Franciscans. Grosseteste and Roger Bacon were Oxford Franciscans of the thirteenth century.

The third phase was the development of Middle English. The first period (1150-1200) saw the publication of the *Moral Ode*, *Ormulum*, *Ancren Riwele*, *Brut*, the *Owl and the Nightingale*, etc. In Layamon's *Brut* appear for the first time in the English tongue the stories of Arthur, Lear, Cymbeline, etc. Next are the Metrical Romances, revealing the French influence, such as *Havelok*, *Horn*, and *Guy of Warwick*. But the output is now general. The *Cursor Mundi*, of the end of the thirteenth century, is a poem in the Northern dialect in rhymes of six and eight syllables. Gloucester's *Chronicle* of the same time is Southern or East Midland, and in long couplets. Bek's *Chronicle* is in Northern, and in short rhymes. The first half of the thirteenth century saw the earliest English lyrics, such as *Summer is y-comen in*. There is some political verse;

while Laurence Minot, after the manner of a poet laureate, celebrated in patriotic verses and in a variety of measures the events of the fourteenth century as they occurred.

130. **The dialects of Middle English.** NORTHERN succeeded the older Northumbrian. The chief works written in this dialect are:—the *Metrical Psalter*, *Cursor Mundi*, *Metrical Homilies*, and the *Towneley Mysteries*. Its chief peculiarities are:—the present indicative endings are e, es, es in the singular, and -es in the plural, syncopation of these forms being very rare; the present participle ends in -ende or -ande, ablaut in the strong preterite is usually set aside, and the singular form is used for both numbers; the weak inflexion of the noun disappears almost entirely, and the strong masculine form alone persists; the inflexion of adjectives and pronouns disappears; the prefix *ge-* disappears; final accented -e is silent by the middle of the fourteenth century; there is levelling generally to a or e.

The peculiarities of MIDLAND are:—endings of the present indicative are -e, est, -eth, and -en in the plural; syncopated presents are rare; the present participle ends in -ende, later -inge; vowel ablaut and personal endings of verbs very well kept; weak as well as strong inflexion of nouns; loss of inflexions in adjectives and pronouns; final -n often retained, even in unaccented syllables; prefix *ge-* usually lost; final unaccented -e still pronounced in fourteenth century; general levelling to a and e. The *Ormulum*, the *Bestiary*, and the *Brut* are in this dialect.

The peculiarities of SOUTHERN are:—the great number of diphthongs, inherited from Old English, retained with variations; the terminations of the present indicative singular are -e, -est, -eth, and in the plural -eth or -ieth; syncopated presents are numerous, e.g. *ritt*; present participle in -inde, later -inge; preterite of weak verbs retains the personal endings; ablaut of strong verbs remains; weak noun inflexion; considerable traces of adjective and pronoun inflexions, *ge-* is generally retained

in the form of y- ; final unaccented -e retained into the fourteenth century.

131. **The English language in Chaucer's time.** Till the end of the fourteenth century both Latin and French were the rivals of English , but the works of Gower show that the last was becoming predominant. For this, Gower, Wyclif, Langland, and above all Chaucer are responsible, and their writings foreshadow also the supremacy of the East Midland, or better, the London dialect.

Chaucer wrote in his own dialect, but it happened to be that of London and the Court ; for which reason he has sometimes been considered the maker of literary English. In him and his contemporary Gower we see the coalescence of the two languages and we may estimate the strength of the French leavening. In the first eighteen lines of the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales* ninety per cent of the words are native English. New French words in pierce, vein, engender, inspire, tender, melodie, pilgrimage, strange, have replaced entirely the older native word, which has disappeared *Root* is a Danish word. Some of the French words possessed English equivalents :—main and virtue, blossom and flower, run and course, kind and nature, heart, and corage, sundry and several.

Undoubtedly Chaucer raised the literary character of English. He also fixed its grammatical forms. The inflexions were levelled to -e, for cases, numbers, and moods. The dative -m was levelled to -e and then dropped. Many more plurals in -en were retained, however, and there were more mutation plurals. The possessive was in -es, but sometimes remained uninflected. The dative in -e was infrequent, especially in adjectives and monosyllabic nouns. The impersonal form, corresponding to the French *on*, as in *on dit*, one says, was introduced in the form which became *men* or *me* :—‘ Or if men smoot it with a yerde smerte ’ There were more strong verbs but the tendency was towards the normal weak form. The subjunctive

termination was -e, the imperative had -eth and -e. The infinitive in -en was weakening to -e, while the present participle was in -yng(e), and not -inde or -ande. The past participle prefix was retained in the form i- or y-. There was still a certain amount of unnecessary inflexion, e.g. *those four yonge men riden*. Some Southern dialectal peculiarities in Chaucer's English, found in the London dialect, have not come down to modern times, having been displaced by the corresponding Midland forms. Certain Chaucerian words also have gone entirely out of use; some have changed their meaning; some have a more popular equivalent.

132. Fifteenth century English. By the fifteenth century English was established firmly in the country, and was spoken in the House of Commons and in the King's court. Ordinary people were able to read and write it. Latin was still, however, popular for serious works. The chief writer was Reginald Pecock, who in 1457 wrote *The Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy*, an attack upon the Lollards. Pecock showed considerable skill in finding terms in English for his abstract ideas and philosophical distinctions, and although most of his words are to be found in Chaucer and Gower, they are quite unusual. Others are frankly coinages.

The invention of printing was the most important event of this century, as Caxton set up a printing press at Westminster in 1476. The previous year, at Bruges, he had printed the *Troy Book*; now he turned out the *Morte D'Arthur*, *The Canterbury Tales*, and other classics. Presses were set up at Oxford in 1478 and St. Albans 1479. As early as 1403 a Stationers' Guild had existed, and Pater-noster Row was known even earlier as the centre of the world of books.

The importance of the invention of printing was that it resulted in standardization and simplification. English begins to wear a modern garb. Original and individual

taste in orthography disappears. Many English words had become obsolete by the fifteenth century and were replaced by French words, mainly Parisian French. Lydgate, for instance, has many French words, which take the place of Chaucer's English terms. There were also some new Latin words, the result of the revival of translation of foreign texts for the printing press.

THE RENAISSANCE

133. The influence of the Renaissance upon the English language. One of the most important causes of the Renaissance or Revival of Learning which took place in the sixteenth century throughout Europe was the invention of printing to which reference has just been made ; because methods of study were revolutionized : learning became possible for people of every class ; medieval barriers were removed. Works of the great classical writers were studied in accessible translations, and the native English tongue was stretched to admit them. The great Cardinal Wolsey made special provision for the teaching of Latin and Greek at Christchurch, Oxford. In 1453 Constantinople had been captured by the Turks, and eastern scholars had been forced westwards, bringing with them their wealth of classical knowledge. It is strange to think that, as the fall of Constantinople happened because the Turks could not spread eastwards on account of the building of the great wall of China, and so turned their ravaging forces westwards, that the European Renaissance is due indirectly to the building of the Great Wall.

Contributory causes of the Renaissance were the discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, and the opening up of the east, all of which widened man's outlook. Yet another cause was the rise of the towns in Europe. Most people have heard of the Hanseatic League of German towns, and history tells us of the political importance of the Lombard cities and of London. Throughout Europe, and particularly in the Netherlands, on the Rhine, and in Lombardy, we have cities full of thriving and

pushing citizens, awake intellectually, and with a higher standard of living than their social superiors the nobles. With civic autonomy came spiritual growth, and the enthusiasm for knowledge of every kind spread from these towns. In them, too, we have the continental equivalent of English Lollardy, which led straight on to the Reformation.

Naturally the citizens of these towns were in favour of their national language, the only speech which many of them knew. The Reformation movement in England led along one avenue to the study of original Greek texts and along another to the national and popular movement, which emphasized the importance of the English tongue, as against Latin, the language of the old Church. The *Bible* was printed in English, and so the language spread. About 1538 there occurred also the dissolution of the monasteries. Although this meant the wanton destruction of valuable libraries and the removal of practically the only educational and social facilities in the land, yet, on the other hand, it meant the removal of the centres and bulwarks of the old medieval thought and outlook, leaving the way clear for the new national movement and Renaissance ideas. Yet another cause contributed: the end of the long dynastic struggle of the Wars of the Roses, and the settlement of the kingdom under the rule of a strong, popular, and national Tudor sovereign.

134. Language changes in the Renaissance. We find little change in English grammar during the Renaissance period. The decay of the inflexional system is completed, and final -e is lost for ever. The form of the language is that of to-day. A new feature appears, however: the study of the language by scholars, and linguistic criticism along more or less scientific lines. This was due partly to the desire to disseminate the learning of the Renaissance and the teaching of the reformers, but it was partly the desire of scholars to apply to their own mother tongue the

principles which the ancient Greek and Roman thinkers had applied to theirs.

The critics were either purists or borrowers. The former had the nascent feeling of nationalism and the dislike of Italian influences ; and they argued that English matter should be written in the English tongue. Gascoigne wrote :—‘ The most ancient English words are of one syllable, so that the more monosyllables you use the truer Englishman you shall seem and the less you will smell of the inkhorn.’ So also Stonyhurst protested in favour of ‘ so copious and fluent a language as our English is’. Above all they attacked the linguistic licence of the age. Wilson in his *Art of Rhetoric* denounces the use of words which are too old and strange. Cheke, in the first part of his *Elementaire*, says that English by ever borrowing would fain keep her house as bankrupt. Roger Ascham, although a lover of classical culture, insists that English must not ape foreign fashions. ‘ I do not think,’ he writes, ‘ that any language is better able to utter all arguments either with more pith or greater plainness than our English tongue is.’ Puttenham discourages all dark and unaccustomed words, and gives warning of the evils which have come from schoolmasters, preachers, secretaries, merchants, and travellers. Nash condemns all borrowings and inkhorn terms, while Ben Jonson in his *Poetaster* counsels ‘ fair abstinence ’ :—

‘ You must not hunt for wild outlandish terms,
To stuff out a peculiar dialect ;
But let your matter run before your words.
And if at any time you chance to meet
Some Gallo-Belgick phrase, you shall not straight
Rack your poor verse to give it entertainment.
But let it pass ; and do not think yourself
Much damnified if you do leave it out,
When nor your understanding nor the sense
Could well receive it. This fair abstinence
In time will render you more sound and clear.’

Daniel writes: 'Our affectation wherein we always bewray ourselves to be both unkind and unnatural to our own native language in disguising or forging strange or unusual words . . . displacing our words, or inventing new, only upon a singularity, when our own accustomed phrase, set in the due place, would express us more familiarly and to better delight than all this idle affectation of antiquity or novelty can ever do.'

It was the same with style as with vocabulary, and the short life of euphuism is to be noted particularly. This style had been introduced by Lily in 1581 in his romance called *Euphues*, 'full of pleasant conceits, sentences incident to sharp wits, fine phrases, smooth quips, merry taunts, jesting without mean, abusing mirth without measure'. It had alliterative jingle and antithetical see-saw to a tiresome degree. Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* gives us an idea of the language extravagances of the period. The author depicts Don Armado, the traveller,

'A man in all the world's new fashions planted,
That hath a mint of phrases in his brain'

and again,

'A man of fire-new words, fashion's own knight.'

There were also attempts to revive old and obsolete words, censured by Puttenham and Ben Jonson (the latter asserting that Spenser, 'in affecting the ancients writ no language') but practised by the poet of the *Faerie Queene* and advocated by his friend Harvey.

135. Renaissance borrowings. The borrowings of this period were chiefly from Latin and Greek direct, although there were also words from Spanish, Italian, French, German and Flemish introduced as the concomitant of the general awakening of sixteenth century Europe. Of the total words in a Latin dictionary it has been calculated that one-quarter have some equivalent in English. The Latin

and Greek terms deal with the new political, literary, educational ideas ; they belong to all the sciences Words like anarchy, orthography, obituary, poem, education, analysis, parallel, geology, biology are typical of this new style of borrowing where the classical word is lifted as it stands, with slight alteration, if any Other borrowings of this kind are :—conscious, egregious, ingenuity, jovial, valorous, artificiality, perfidy, incendiary, sovereignty, perfunctory, notoriety, negotiation, mechanician, all of which were singled out by Nash as inkhorn terms, the use of which is to be censured.

As early as 1526 Tyndale's Glossary gives the following as unusual words :—firmament, reconcile, dedicate, consecrate, grace, sanctify, gloss, inspiration, attraction, insensible, local, restoration In 1530 the following were rare words :—modesty, maturity, temperance, sobriety, industry. In addition to these are the words which did not find a permanent home in the language : Nash enumerates some of them :—canicular, fantasticality, energetical, mentery, addoulce, polimechany, sirenized, traynment, nouellets. Harvey provides some others :—absonism, carminist, prouditore, corrigidore, gimpanado, fictionate, horrisonant, finicallity, infamisers, dunstically, abominationally Ben Jonson quotes defunct and retrograde as recent importations.

One result of this direct borrowing was the formation of doublets, another form of the classical word having come into the language through the Normans. Thus we have :—assoil, absolve ; benison, benediction ; hotel, hostel, hospital ; jealous, zealous, etc. Another effect was to replace the French form by the etymologically more correct form, e g. debt, doubt, picture, equal, choir, indict, fault, receipt, perfect, adventure, rhyme, instead of dette (Latin debitum), doute (Latin dubitum), égal (Latin equalis), quire (Latin chorus), indite (Latin indictum), etc. Yet another result was that classical terms which had already been used by the medieval schoolmen in a technical

fashion were now popularized. Such included grammar, logic, rhetoric, astronomy, comedy, tragedy, history, philosophy.

There are other contemporary Renaissance writers who object to the mixing of languages, thus giving us words which are hybrids. Some object to polysyllabic words as being ill-shaped and unseemly. From the evidence it is abundantly clear that many new words were being introduced daily. In the pages of the critics themselves are to be found many experimental terms which never received general recognition, e.g. *meacocke*, *balductum*, *synomonize*, *slaumpaump*, *capcase*, *ayreable*, *quidditical*, *agnomination*, *endenizmal*, *nippitaty*, *brimly*, *geazon*.

It is remarkable how many words have come from Latin at this time without change of any kind:—*superior*, *minimum*, *vim*, *bonus*, *stimulus*, *animal*, *folio*, *item*, *nostrum*, *recipe*, *veto*, *vacuum*, *inertia*, *innuendo*, *dictum*, *alibi*, *errata*, *interim*, *memorandum*, *affidavit*, *via*, *ex parte*, *bona fide*, *post mortem*, *ex cathedra*, *sine die*, *videlicet*, *id est*, etc., etc. Others have, of course, come in at a later date than the Renaissance, and are usually recognizable:—*prospectus*, *impetus*, *alias*, *proviso*, *deficit*, *sinecure*, *excelsior*, *millennium*, *terminus*, *referendum*, *libido*.

The percentage of Latin words in the writings of Dr. Johnson is twenty-eight per cent while with Gibbon it is thirty per cent. The period in which these two authors lived, the second half of the eighteenth century, shows a higher percentage than any other. Thus Shakespeare's works show ten per cent, the Authorized Version of the Bible six per cent, and Tennyson twelve per cent.

136. Greek borrowings. Most of the Greek words in English entered it during the Renaissance, and the majority through Latin. There were, of course, borrowings at an earlier period. For instance *devil* and *church* are prior to the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain. The introduction of Christianity in 597 brought more:—*abbot*, *monk*, *priest*, *clerk*, and *school* are originally from Greek; while *dropsy*, *quinsy*, *palsy*, *treacle* are Greek medical terms.

greatly modified But the Renaissance brought many borrowings connected with literature and rhetoric — poetry, epic, lyric, drama, tragedy, comedy, elegy, epigram, idyl, theatre, scene, melodrama, prologue, ode, rhythm, epithalamium, dactyl, anapaest, rhetoric, theme, thesis, topic, epitome, emphasis, climax, apostrophe, metaphor, phrase, paraphrase, paragraph, parenthesis, period, laconic, graphic, idiom, dialogue, apology, comma, colon, hyphen, synonym, anonymous, sarcasm. For sport we have borrowed —gymnastics, acrobat, trophy Many proper names are Greek —Alexander, Catherine, Christopher, Cora, Dorothea, Eugene, George, Helen, Ida, Irene, Margaret, Nicholas, Peter, Phoebe, Philip, Phyllis, Sophia, Stephen, Theodore, Basil

137. The Italian influence. One of the difficulties in estimating the influence of Italy on the English language is that many of the Italian words found their way into English through another Romance language—French. The Romance forms are very much alike, and it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between the claims on a word of French, Italian, or Spanish Thus banquet, bagatelle, and intrigue are French in form, but they are none the less Italian in origin Similarly, moustache comes through Spanish The confusion is the worse in modern times through the habit of manufacturing Italian words, such as glaxo, brasso, etc

The earliest borrowings appear to be due to the pre-eminence of Italian banking in the thirteenth century. Lombard Street, the centre of London's banking life to-day, indicates this early Italian influence, while in the vocabulary are found bankrupt, cash, carat, and ditto, from this period.

Later in the Middle Ages we have the pre-eminence of Italian trade, in the hands especially of the Venetians and the Genoese, before Christopher Columbus opened up the west. From this source we get some oriental words, disguised in an Italian form :—caviare, tamarind, damask,

muslin, seraglio, piastre, turban, tulip; as well as native Italian words like ducat, florin, sequin, gazette. There are in addition some sea terms:—arsenal, galleon, caravel, frigate, gallipot, mizzen, pilot, lateen, argosy, mole, quarantine, lazaretto.

The third period of influence is the Renaissance. So great then is the Italian influence that there are numerous references to it in contemporary literature, and strong condemnation of the 'Englishman italianate'. Words relating to dress, duelling, horsemanship, literature, music, drama, war, the fine arts, food and cookery, architecture, etc., show the wide influence of Italy upon western Europe. English plays, too, were full of Italian words, and scenes, and characters, and plots. Some of the earliest words are: signor, doge, gondola, corsair, nuncio, banditti, sirocco, brigand, bravo, vendetta, carnival, gala, casion, villa, belvedere, grotto, volcano, lagoon, regatta, stiletto.

The most common words are terms in the fine arts:—

Architecture:—cornice, balcony, cupola, portico, corridor, arcade, colonnade, façade, pilaster, piazza, vista.

Painting:—mezzotint, sienna, magenta, nude, replica, bust, torso, medal, cameo, intaglio, miniature.

Music:—portfolio, virtuoso, recitative, intermezzo, operetta, oratorio, mandoline, trombone, piccolo, allegro, staccato, adagio, falsetto, soprano, fantasia, trio, quintette, concert, harpsichord.

Cookery:—macaroni, vermicelli, spaghetti, marzipan, gorgonzola, chianti, marsala, martini, saveloy.

Literary:—dilettanti, cognoscenti, literati, caricature.

War:—campaign, squadron, generalissimo, bastion, brigade, casemate, citadel, colonel, escort, gabion, parapet, vedette, salvo, infantry, cartel, riposte.

Stage:—buffoon, pantaloons, pasquinade, scenario, improvise.

Dancing:—pavan, coranto.

Literature:—sonnet, canto, stanza, terzarima.

Names of places:—milliner, leghorn, tureen, paduasoy.

Phrases :—sotto voce, con amore, ben trovato, al fresco, dolce far niente, incognito

General :—tarantula, cicala, muscatel, umbrella, confetti, malaria, influenza, manifesto, furore, imbroglio, fracas, conversatione, catacomb.

Latest :—garibaldi, galvanic, marconi, fascism.

138. Other Renaissance influences. The influence of French culture is seen in the borrowings :—plot, march, lobby, mimic, fallacy, massacre, sentinel, officious, attack, ambuscade, barricade, dragoon, alexandrine, quatrain, gazette, dessert.

In the sixteenth century Spain was at the height of her power, and her relations with England, both political and literary, were closer than at any other time. Thus the borrowings :—armada, comrade, desperado, dispatch, grandee, negro, peccadillo, punctilio, renegade. There were also American words introduced through Spanish as the intermediary :—chocolate, cocoa, tobacco, maize, hammock, potato.

FROM THE PURITANS TO THE PRESENT DAY

139. Puritan English. In the seventeenth century thought, literature and language were influenced by those complex causes which we sum up under the name Puritanism. Its most obvious effect upon the language was to bring theological and biblical turns of phrase into the common speech to a degree unknown before. Yet it would be a serious mistake to suppose that any great number of the religious words which are now a part of the ordinary vocabulary are derived from this movement. Most of them had been in the language for a long time, and many had gone through a development which had obscured their origin, so that they were no longer felt to be religious. The religious vocabulary was not the invention of the Puritans, nor was its common use in everyday language a specifically Puritan fashion. What the Puritans did was to carry the habit to its ultimate limits of use. They also made constant appeal to the legislation of the Old Testament, and thus filled the language for a time with allusions to Hebrew law and ritual, as well as to the poets and prophets of the Old Testament. In short, they focused their minds on biblical phraseology, with results which affected permanently our stock of words and idioms.

At the same time the study of the classics was not less popular than in the previous century, King James giving the necessary lead. Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* of 1621 is full of Latin quotations. Sir Thomas Browne's writings show the same influences, while Milton's vocabulary and structure are alike latinized. Some words in Milton have a meaning different from ours:—consummate, considerate, expense, puny, idiot, copious; but his work

marks definitely the end of the period which precedes modern English. With the advent of Dryden we get a prose modern in its vocabulary and in its structure.

140. The language of Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*. This book provides a fair example of the cultivated language of seventeenth century writers. The first thing which strikes one is the unfamiliar appearance of many words, the spelling of which does not conform to modern usage. Browne's predilection for capital letters also makes the pages rather strange. He is fond of quotations, and the work contains numerous quotations from Latin writers, as well as a few French and Greek. Naturally enough, there are many scriptural quotations and references in a book dealing with religious belief, and the style occasionally takes on a biblical manner. The occasional figure of speech is another rather unfamiliar sight to modern eyes, as, 'Yet have I not so shaken hands with those desperate Resolutions, who had rather venture at large their decayed bottom, than bring her in to be trimmed in the Dock', or, 'For indeed Heresies perish not with their Authors, but like the river Arethusa, though they lose their currents in one place, they rise up again in another', or 'Thus I teach my haggard and unreclaimed reason to stoop unto the lure of Faith'. Browne strives after the rounded period, and frequently employs inversion to that end. The order of words is far from absolute, while there are constructions which are modelled upon the syntax of Latin, and are foreign to the English style.

A few of his words are archaic. Many of them are strange to us because they are borrowed from Latin, but have never been naturalized. Thus the following are to be met.—improperations, morosity, dictotomy, crasis, pucelage, retribute, ephemerides, supputation, antinomies, galliardize, dormative, liquation, inducible, cramb, carnified, vitiosity, doradoes, phytognomy, ligation, extemporary, etc. More of them are used with a meaning which

is not the modern sense :—proceed, consorts, mediocrity, assayed, conceit, reflex, vulgar, election, confound, curious, prejudicate, punctual, genius

Most remarkable of all is Browne's mannerism of pairing his words, a habit of Shakespeare's, and of all who are lovers of language. With Browne it is sheer delight to use his pairs. Sometimes they have the alliterative jingle, as :—taint or tincture, form and figure, tests and trials, ordinary and open. Some of them borrow from the classics to aid the native word :—extravagant and irregular, pucelage and virginity, revolution and vicissitude, reflex or shadow, fire and scintillation, prompting and suggesting, spoils and trophies. Most of them, however, merely reveal his verbal mastery :—confirm and establish, solitary and retired, content and happiness, sundry and divided, straight and regular, serpentine and crooked, match and parallel, loose and struggling, universal and public, title and claim, signs and bushes, plunged and gravelled ; the weeds and tares, the first stone and basis of our faith, a stint and period, questioned and called to the bar, set no rule or limit, tower and plume himself, a secret glome or bottom, their zenith and vertical points, allurements and baits of superstition to those vulgar heads that look askint on the face of truth, and those unstable judgements that cannot consist in the narrow point and centre of virtue without a reel or stagger to the circumference.

141. English of the eighteenth century. The reaction from Puritanism in the life of the English nation is mirrored in the language of the eighteenth century. Writers were in constant dread of enthusiasm (which was a synonym for fanaticism) and the romantic (by which was meant anything fanciful or imaginative or emotional which was not instantly reducible to common sense). Their ideal was the easy elegance of language which befits a cultivated man of fashion. Epigram, wit, and polish were the mode. Imagination was repressed. Warmth of feeling was not to be

shown without suspicion of vulgarity. The good writer, it was held, should steer his course between exaltation on the one hand and dullness on the other. Above all, he should be clear and logical, or at all events should have the semblance of being so. To preserve one's self-control in all circumstances without appearing to be self-conscious was to reach the acme of the kind of excellence then most admired. The model was France, the polite nation.

There can be no doubt that the eighteenth century had a beneficial effect upon the language. In particular it made for what is now called grammatical correctness. The regularity of English syntax is due mainly to the tendencies we have been describing. Many constructions, used freely in the Elizabethan age, were discarded gradually in the eighteenth century because they seemed to be irregular, or because they tended to ambiguity. Similarly, the meanings of words became more limited, with a manifest gain in exactness. Finally, the literary vocabulary was subjected to a purifying process. The Elizabethans were very free in coining new words, or in reviving old ones, and the learned times had brought in many long terms from Latin, such as have been quoted from Browne's *Religio Medici* (para. 140). This gave a peculiar richness and a fine dignity to the prose of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but such processes cannot go on indefinitely without removing the language of literature too far from that of common life. A period of rest has to intervene, that the language may, so to speak, take account of stock, or to change the figure, digest what it has devoured. The eighteenth century was such a period. No better standard can be found than the easy language of cultivated men who are neither specialists nor pedants, and this was the standard which the eighteenth century used in codifying 'good English'. Before the end of the century, of course, there was the expected revolt against the repressive canons of what was called good taste, and the language began once more to go on its free course of development.

New words were, of course, coming in. Addison in the *Spectator* objects to such as morass, reconnoitre, defile, marauding, army corps, gasconade, while Swift utters a similar protest :—

I defy the greatest divine to produce any law either of God or man, which obliges me to comprehend the meaning of omniscience, omnipresence, ubiquity, attribute, beatific vision, with a thousand others so frequent in pulpits, any more than that of eccentric, idiosyncrasy, entity, and the like

Under the influence of Dr. Johnson the English language in the latter half of the eighteenth century was diverted temporarily from its course of simplicity which it had followed under the guidance of Dryden, Addison, and Swift. For a time it was brought again under the domination of the classics :—

Such an institution would, in Dick's opinion, spread the fame of English literature over Europe, and make London the metropolis of elegance and politeness, the place to which the learned and ingenious of all countries would repair for instruction and improvement, and where nothing would any longer be applauded or endured that was not conformed to the nicest rules, and finished with the highest elegance.

As befitted a member of Dr. Johnson's circle, the great historian Gibbon favours a latinized style and vocabulary, e.g.

I assiduously frequented the theatres at a very propitious era of the stage, when a constellation of excellent actors, both in tragedy and comedy, was eclipsed by the meridian brightness of Garrick in the maturity of his judgment and vigour of his performance.

142. The influence of the Romantic Revival. With the Romantic Revival came a revolt against neatness and

correctness, and a return to the older and freer models of English. Obsolete words were revived, not always with an accurate knowledge of their sense. Variety and striking effects were sought after. Metaphor became bolder; versification was freed from some of its eighteenth century shackles. The writer was permitted to use that form of language which expressed most adequately his meaning.

143. Modern influences. The progress of science and mechanics, and the widespread interest in discovery and invention, have modified profoundly the vocabulary of English. Another influence, of a widely different kind, has come from the study of literature as a fine art and from the consequent development of literary criticism. Finally, there has never been a time in the history of the language, not even in the eighteenth century era of correctness, when syntactical exactitude has ruled with so capricious and tyrannical a sway. Inversion may not be employed unless it is clearly justified, the order of words may not be departed from, and that order is stricter than ever; the exactly suitable word, and the briefest expression, must be sought and found.

CHAPTER XIX

CHIEFLY GAINS AND LOSSES

144. **Borrowings from other languages.** *French.* Subsequent to the Renaissance French continued to be a powerful influence upon English. This was so particularly after the accession of King Charles II, who had lived for a long time in exile at the French court, and brought French with him to England. Borrowings of this period include :—adroit, aggressor, antechamber, apartment, bagatelle, brunette, burlesque, cadet, cajole, calash, campaign, cannonade, caprice, caress, chagrin, commandant, complaisant, console, coquette, corps, cravat, foible, intrigue, memoir, lampoon, miniature, serenade, profile, recitative, symphony

A little before the Restoration Butler wrote a satire on 'our ridiculous imitation of the French', and complains that to smatter French is meritorious. Dryden also complains of the corruption of our English idiom by mixing it too much with French.

A new feature of the French borrowings is that many of the importations retain their French pronunciation. Thus we have :—ballet, carte blanche, cadet, caprice, corps, commandant, critique, croquet, piquet, régime, mirage. Very recent borrowings of this type include garage, persiflage, camouflage, massage, mirage, barrage, debris, cuisine, detour, crêpe, naïvete, morale, role.

French words predominate in certain departments of English life, e.g. cookery, dress, and law. Examples of cookery include :—sauce, gravy, roast, broil, toast, pastry, soup, jelly, beef, pork, mutton, veal, mustard, supper, dinner. For dress we have :—chiffon, crepe de chine,

georgette, voile. For law :—mortgage, forfeit, bail, bailiff, jury, larceny, lease, perjury, assets, embezzle, disclaim, distress, culprit, attach, quit, convey, entail, tort.

Dutch, Flemish, and German. The most important trade in England during the Middle Ages was the wool trade with the Netherlands. There were colonies of Flemings settled in England from time to time as weavers —

‘ Certes, he Jack Straw, and his meynee,
Never made shoutes half so shrill,
Whan that they wolden any Fleming kill ’

writes Chaucer in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*. In the sixteenth century the Dutch had the carrying trade of Europe. There are borrowings from commerce :—cannikin, groat, hogshead, holland, jerkin, spool, swabber, nautical — ahoy, aloof, avast, belay, boom, cruise, deck, hoist, lighter, moor, reef, skipper, sloop, yacht, yawl, military (from the much fought-over fields of Flanders) —leaguer, lnstock, waggon, freebooter, furlough, plunder, brewing —tub, scum, hops, general :—boor, hustle, knapsack, landscape, loiter, slender, stove. At the end of the nineteenth century the South African War led to the introduction of a few new Dutch words, such as trek, commando, veldt, spoor. From *High German* come umlaut, ablaut, kindergarten, hinterland, landau, meerscham, poodle, waltz, carouse, bismuth, cobalt, quartz, zinc, shale.

Spanish. Since the Renaissance Spanish words have continued to enter English, chiefly through American avenues, as many of the inhabitants of the New World are of Spanish blood. Thus ranch, sombrero, canyon, lariat, bonanza, corral, lasso, cinch, flotilla, siesta, sherry, vanilla.

Portuguese, indigo, binnacle, caste, cobra, palaver, madeira, port, fetish.

Russian, knout, ukase, polka (Polish), cravat, mammoth, slave, crash (linen); and a few from recent events in Russia : soviet, bolshevik, intelligentsia.

Hungarian, coach, shako, vampire, hussar, sabre.

Turkish, bosh, horde, turkey, uhlan, coffee, turquoise, ottoman.

Arabic. The words borrowed from Arabic come as a rule through other languages, and belong to a common stock of words appropriated from Arabic culture (para. 31). Some are direct importations :—albatross, arrack, attar, azimuth, fakir, harem, mohair, mufti, sherbet, simoon, sofa, hazard, admiral. Some reach English through Greek :—elixir, talisman, alembic, carat. Through Sanskrit originally comes sugar, and through various other languages naphtha, jasper, myrrh, alcohol, algebra, artichoke, crimson, carmine, saracen, minaret, alcove, amber, cipher, cotton, garble, zero, magazine, gazelle, giraffe, sash, syrup, lute, mattress, saffron, ghoul. The large number of borrowings indicates the extent and influence of the mediæval Arabic culture.

Persian words come also as a rule by a circuitous route :—divan, mogul, pasha, azure, pyjamas, toddy, magic, caravan, tiger, rice, scimitar, taffeta, rook, check, chess (mate is Arabic), chicanery, shawl, lemon, lilac, scarlet, van, borax, jasmine, spinach, tulip, turban.

Hebrew, amen, hallelujah, bedlam, cherub, seraph, jubilee, manna, Satan, rabbi, Sabbath, maudlin, shibboleth, all of which are scriptural terms ; also camel, cider, ebony, elephant, cinnamon, nitre, sapphire, simony, damson, leviathan.

Indian (by various routes), pepper, beryl, camphor, sandal (in sandal wood), indigo, china, orange, candy, calico, cashmere, jungle, loot, punch. More direct derivatives :—avatar, pundit, sepoy, suttee, bandanna, bangle, bungalow, shampoo, thug, pariah, punkah, curry, cot, dinghy, polo ; and more recently, hartal, swaraj, harijan.

Chinese, silk, tea, chop, typhoon, serge, mandarin.

Asia and the South Seas, bamboo, cheroot, teak, gong, guttapercha, junk, amuck, sago, gingham, bantam, taboo, tattoo.

African, canary, chimpanzee, hoodoo, tango, guinea, zebra.

Australian, boomerang, kangaroo.

American (through Spanish), cocoa, chocolate, potato, quinine, maize, tomato From West Indian vernaculars :—mahogany, cannibal, canoe, buccaneer, alpaca, condor, tapioca, banana From North American vernaculars :—caucus, hickory, moose, skunk, toboggan, wigwam

145. Losses in English. Emphasis has very rightly been laid on the gains to English by borrowing in the course of its development, but the question of its losses is also of importance These losses have been incurred chiefly during the following periods :—

(a) Old English words lost Many of these were lost completely and with no exact substitute to replace them, when the literary vocabulary was forgotten after the Norman Conquest (para 125) Such are :—athele, noble (surviving in the proper name Ethel) ; ar, honour ; eard, home ; fierd, militia , folde, earth ; frith, peace ; gafol, tribute , guma, man ; hold, friendly , maegen, strength ; riman, to count ; run, mystery , sibb, peace ; theod, people ; wer, man , wod, mad , wyrd, fate Many others are strong terse words which were worth keeping :—bana, murderer , beorg, hill , blaed, breath ; dol, foolish ; ege, fear , feax, hair , fon, to seize , fram, bold , frod, wise , had, rank ; hold, war , lac, gift ; man, wickedness ; leax, salmon ; nith, hatred , seax, knife , sith, journey ; tir, glory ; thrymm, strength ; wael, slaughter. Some are melodious words with an appeal :—diegol, secret ; duguth, excellence ; eadig, blessed ; froefran, to console ; freorig, cold ; frofor, consolation ; gryre, terror ; heolstor, darkness ; leasung, falsehood ; miltsian, to pity ; nicor, sea-monster ; rodor, sky ; snottor, wise ; swinsung, melody ; theostru, darkness ; wuldor, glory A few have survived as proper names :—Ethel, noble ; Ellen, courage ; Hilda, warrior , Wynn, joy ; Winifred (from freod, peace).

Others again while not dead are dying, and many of them survive only in poetic diction —bairn, boon, boot (to boot), bide, dint, fell (skin), ire, leech (doctor), let (hinder), mere, rede, reck, sark, sooth, rathe, speed (prosper), swart, tale (enumeration), thole, wax (to grow), ween, wight, wite

(b) Middle English words lost. Without a substitute —agrysen, to shudder, asterte, to escape; blinne, to leave off; camuse, low; estres, recesses, drasty, worthless; glede, coal; ferly, strange; meynee, household; quappe, heave; rounne, whisper, swink, toil; wone, custom. Some might well have been kept:—aspre, sharp, attray, venomous; bismare, contemptuous conduct, biwryen, disclose; breme, furious; covyne, deceitfulness; elde, old age; fere, companion; fother, load; hente, catch; herie, praise; mullok, heap of refuse, neet, cattle, onde, envy; seel, bliss; shonde, disgrace; soken, toll; swelte, die; teen, vexation; wem, blemish, werne, refuse. Some again are not dead but dying:—abeye, bale, bode, boun, devoir, drye, fain, hest, hie, kyken, lay, let, lore, meed, ruth, rout, rede, reck, repair, scathe, sooth, speed, strand, thole, threep, wax, ween, wight, wite, hight

(c) Renaissance words lost to us. Some might have been retained, and we part with them with regret:—affeered, confirmed; agnize, avow; antre, cavern; bawbling, insignificant; beteem, allow; bezonian, base fellow; cantle, slice; cog, cheat; coy, to caress, cuttle, bully; drumble, be sluggish; empery, dominion; escoted, maintained; fardel, bundle; fere, spouse, fetch, trick; grize, step, hent, seize, immanity, ferocity; incony, pretty; lither, flexible, lozel, worthless fellow; mell, meddle, miching, sneaking; mobled, wrapped up; prumy, early, roistering, bullying, sprag, quick; tarre, set on; teen, grief.

Some, on the other hand, are better lost:—canicular, entelechy, mentery, effectuate, addoulce, polmechany, traynment, nouvellets, carminist, gimpanado, finicality, infamisers, dunstically, balductum, slaumpaump,

quidditical, agnomination, endenizmal, nipptaty, geazon, meacocke, sillogistrie, sirenized, capcase, ayreable, brimly

A few are obsolete and dying —aby, bandy, bosky, buss, coil, ear (plough), fadge, forfend, garner, handfast, hests, loon, lumpish, nayword, neaf, rack, rede, round, rout, ruth, tire.

146. Words which have changed in meaning. These include :—

(a) Old English words —acre, beam, black, keen, dream, quick, deem, deer, dizzy, earning, axle, fathom, fee, fret, ghost, ground, harvest, heap, idle, mare, mood, mourn, silly, slit, small, softly, spill, steep, starve, stool, trim, wade, wife, worm.

(b) Middle English words :—appalled, appetite, aventure, bachelor, bane, board, brook, buxom, cunning, deliver, deyntee, drench, entail, forsake, free, glee, harlot, harness, impertinent, infect, jade, lewd, lusty, knave, moist, mood, notable, nice, pinch, proper, receipt, relieve, resolve, reasonable, resort, rude, sadly, science, silliness, sentence, solemn, sort, sour, spill, stark, sturdy, swain, trip, tide, virtue, weld.

(c) Renaissance words :—abate, abhor, abridgement, addition, affront, aim, allow, baffle, brave, censure, claw, competitor, comptible, convent, convicted, counterfeit, curb, curiosity, curst, danger, dash, dear, defeat, defend, distance, eager, entertain, erring, extravagant, fantastical, favour, flourish, forbid, free, fret, generosity, good, happily, husbandry, importance, informal, inland, innocent, instance, jet, kindle, laced, leer, lodged, luxurious, merchant, modern, neat, note, overlooked, offices, overture, owe, pack, peculiar, pedant, peeled, peevish, picked, plausibly, popular, practice, precedent, pregnant, quaint, quality, rapture, reduce, regiment, ruffle, security, shrewd, small, smooth, sort, suggest, touch, train, trash, trick.

(d) Some others which have degenerated in meaning :—villain, churl, clown, knave, varlet, wench, quean, hussy,

fellow, caitiff, rascal, silly, simple, unsophisticated, cunning, sly, crafty, knowing, craft, lust, counterfeit, sanctimonious, fanatic, lewd, illicit, erring, plausible, worthy, wanton, fresh.

Others which, on the contrary, have improved in meaning:—marshal, seneschal, constable, chamberlain, broker, minister, engineer, ambassador, nice, naughty, etc.

147. Changes in form of English words. These are due chiefly to:—

(a) Metathesis:—run, fright, bright, burning, grass, through, root, burst, bird, crisp, curl, cress, lisped.

(b) Euphony —quake, kill, quoth, queen, leap, yoke, yellow, yield, yell, yearn, lady, lord, lank, loud, whale, raven, rime, ring, where, wheel, white, shame, shave, shall, sheep, sharp, sheet, shoot, shield, shine, ship, short.

(c) The monosyllabic tendency —faegen, fain, fugal, fowl; geoguth, youth; hagol, hail, haefod, head; hatung, hate; monath, month; naegel, nail; plega, play; sawol, soul; tigele, tile; hlaepan, leap

148. Changes in pronunciation. These are brought about chiefly by the accent of intensity:—valour, virtue, courage, liquor, revenue, formidable, despicable, indisputable, inapplicable, inexplicable, capitalize, interesting, laboratories, deficit, somnolence, redolent, dolorous, decorous.

149. Doublets. These are due to:—

(a) Difference in spelling —mettle, metal; human, humane; antic, antique; dent, dint, through, thorough; cud, quid; porridge, pottage; mead, meadow; shoal, shallow; shed, shade, shadow.

(b) Difference in inflexion:—hanged, hung; heaved, hove.

(c) Dialectal differences:—ditch, dike; clench, clinch; chew, chaw; church, kirk.

(d) Derivation from Latin directly and through French — dainty, dignity, frail, fragile, blame, blaspheme, deacon, dean; debit, depot, deposition, depot, security, surety, regal, royal, corpse, corps, abbreviate, abridge, adjutant, aid, camera, chamber, concept, conceit, dominion, dungeon, potion, poison, pauper, poor; predicate, preach, radius, ray, recuperate, recover, separate, sever, supervise, survey, tabernacle, tavern Triplets — ligament, league, lien; ration, ratio, reason; gentile, gentle, genteel, legal, leal, loyal; capital, chief, chef, senior, sire, sir

(e) Norse influence:—scot, shot; skirt, shirt, scatter, shatter; screech, shriek, egg, edge.

(f) Greek influence.—adamant, diamond; phantasy, fantasy, fancy, presbyter, priest.

(g) Norman influence —ward, guard; wage, guage; warrant, guarantee

(h) Other sources:—deck, thatch; mandolin, banjo; crux, cross; dish, disc; arc, arch

150. Synonyms, Homonyms, etc. English is naturally very rich in synonyms, i.e. words derived from different sources but with the same meaning, such as acknowledge and confess. It is also rich in homonyms, i.e. words with the same form but distinct in origin and meaning, e.g. weed, vice, temple, angle. There are also many hybrids, i.e. words built up from different languages, of which the classical example is remacadamizing, with elements from Latin, Celtic, Hebrew, Greek, and English. Many words are derived from names of animals, such as to ape, to gull, to monkey with, to dog, to hound, to worm your way, bearish, foxy, capricious, crocodile tears. More still are derived from persons:—hector, dunce, benedict, jehu, sandwich, macintosh, tantalize, vandalism, tawdry, burke, lynch; and some from places:—meander, babel, mecca, cambric, sherry, champagne, china, tweeds, muslin, fustian, arras, jersey, milliner

MODERN ENGLISH

151. The character of modern English. The development of English has resulted in the almost complete loss of inflexions. Instead, the order of words is very rigid ; and modern style does not countenance inversions or repetitions. Meticulous accuracy in the use of words is demanded ; there must be complete absence of ambiguity ; and brevity is a very great virtue. Chaste and with nothing ornate, the language discourages purple patches ; but at the same time there is no grammatical tyranny, and the expression is dictated by logic rather than grammar.

152. A living language. Down the centuries have been traced constant and gradual changes in English, in the form, spelling, pronunciation, and meaning of its words. The monosyllabic tendency has given to modern speech many words which were dissyllables in Old English, e.g. fowl (fugol), youth (geoguth), hail (hagol), head (haefod), month (monath), nail (nagel), soul (sawol), tile (tigele). The incidence of the initial accent on foreign words borrowed in Middle English times has changed their pronunciation, e.g. valour, virtue, nature, liquor, courage. The same process has resulted in changes in Shakespearean pronunciation, e.g. revenue, sepulchring, character, charactery, cognizance, persevere, aspect, etc. Some words used as late as the time of Pope appear to differ from modern pronunciation, as vase, tea, Bohea, caprice.

153. Present-day changes. Although the British Broadcasting Corporation is making itself responsible for a certain standardization in pronunciation, there is no institution similar to the French Academy to lay down the law in the matter, English, therefore, to-day is a living, growing and changing language. Within the memories of most of us words such as despicable, formidable, and others of similar form, have found the accent moving to the first syllable. With such as dolorous, decorous, and sonorous, the situation is exciting: the first having taken the initial accent, the second being yet doubtful, while the third remains so far unaffected. So with indolence and somnolence the phonetic law has operated, although standard English does not as yet sanction the initial accent on condolence. There has been within recent years a change in the accentuation of capitalize and interesting, while the newer pronunciation of laboratory will probably soon be replaced by the older. Considerable popular doubt appears to exist as to the pronunciation of words like deficit, while decade may change in time through analogy. As for elixir, it will probably yield to the law of initial accent in due course. In modern times, too, perhaps more than ever, may be traced subtle modifications in the meaning of a word, whereby it takes on a twentieth century meaning unknown in previous ages. The word fresh is a case in point. Most significant of all, as adding vividness, picturesqueness and concreteness to the expression, the tendency to use the condensed metaphor has become very pronounced in modern popular speech. So prone were earlier English speakers to be figurative that the most cursory examination will discover everywhere embedded metaphors which have long ago been divorced from their literal significance. The poet Gray asserted that Shakespeare 'thought in pictures'. To-day, however—influenced perhaps by the example of American speakers and writers—the practice is more common than ever—to the benefit, be it said, of the expression of English.

154. A French opinion. The opinion of M Huchon, French philologist and author of *L'Histoire de la langue Anglaise*, may be quoted:—‘ Thus constituted, it (the English language) is distinguished, amongst all the idioms of western Europe, by a singular originality. No other tongue is mixed in vocabulary to such an extent, and none has gathered with a larger hospitality the borrowings of the stranger. To the resources which it draws from its Anglo-Saxon origins, it has added first of all, between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries, Scandinavian words which have come to it from the Danish invaders settled in Mercia —take, cast, ill, though, they, are of this number and amongst the most familiar. They belong, equally with Anglo-Saxon, to the Germanic original. In the Middle English period, in particular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a denser and denser mass of Anglo-Norman and French words penetrated into English, partly as the result of the close relations between conqueror and conquered, partly by the conscious effort of a literature which put itself to the school of French. The primitive building thus adds a new wing and different architecture, which gives to the whole a composite appearance. Next, the scholars and poets of the Renaissance, nourished upon Latin and Greek, multiply the borrowings from these two languages; they crown with a classical frontage the more ancient edifice, which moreover continues to be susceptible of indefinite extension. The English language, faithful image of the people who speak it, looks on one side towards Germany and the countries of the north, and on the other towards France and the Mediterranean civilization. Up to Anglo-Saxon times isolated in its island, it has participated since the Norman Conquest in European culture, and has become, to-day perhaps more than ever, the expression of the union of Germanic and Roman culture.

‘ Loving, like the English nation, the realism of concrete facts and clothed impressions, it can never have too many

resources to make its sensations picturesque, nor too many synonyms to analyse its shades of meaning. It has retained from Germanic the power to form compound nouns at will, while its Romance borrowings have furnished it with innumerable doublets. If, however, it is prodigal of its riches in the expression of its thought, it yet rejects all that is non-essential. The affectations and complications of formalism are insupportable to it. Few languages have pushed so far the simplification of their grammar. Old English possessed a declension which was complex and a conjugation with multiple endings, it inherited from Germanic a grammatical gender, the reason for which disappeared as the different elements in words became obliterated. In the course of its reconstitution after the Norman Conquest, English effected a change of which Old English had already given a glimpse. It established a single type of the strong declension, eliminated the weak declension, and finished by retaining one single ending with a few archaic exceptions. The subjunctive mood tended more and more to disappear from its conjugation, grammatical gender, become ununderstandable, was replaced by a natural gender according with reality. The uncertain Old English constructions acquired all the logical simplicity of the French phrase, and the spelling, which dates from the printers of the Renaissance, is respected as a tradition, and is retained because one has been so long habituated to it that the words remain intelligible despite their arbitrariness.

‘These qualities make of English a language heavy at moments, but most often expressive and clear. It possesses, moreover, a sonorousness which fits it eminently for poetry. Its consonants, strongly explosive and clearly detached, have a virile accent which never becomes exaggerated to the extent of the raw brutality of the German gutturals, and which rejects also the rough harshness of the French *r*. From the energy of its dentals and the definiteness of its sibilants it acquires two of its most

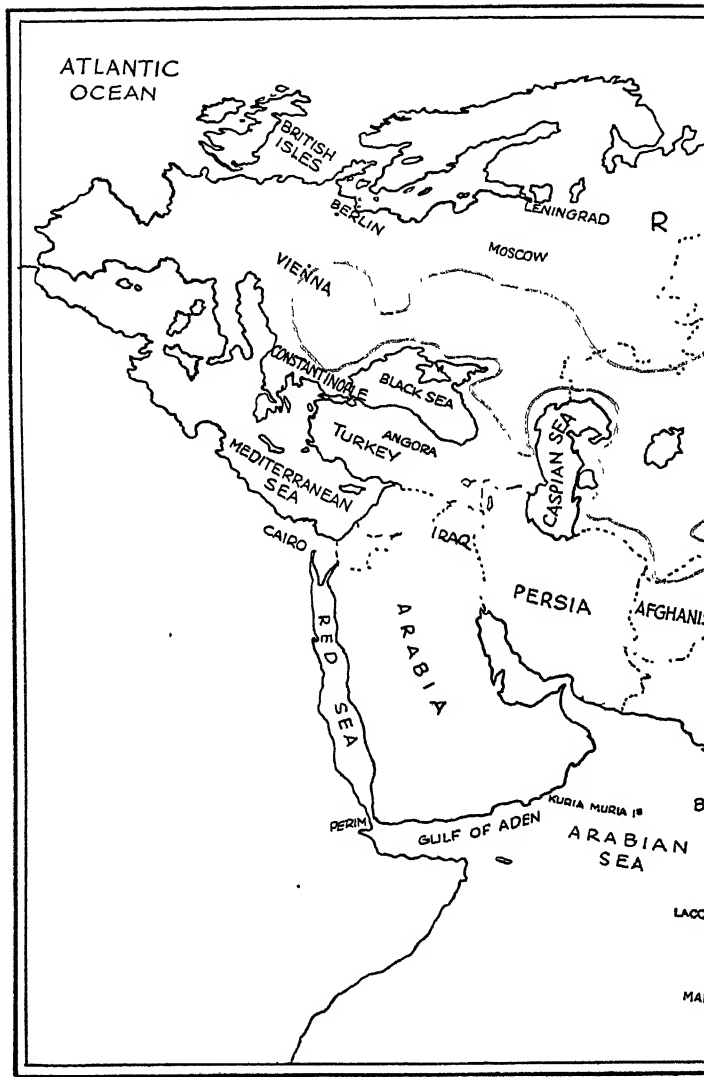
marked phonetic characteristics. Its vowel system has reduced the number of nasals and labialized sounds in an effort not to obscure the freedom and brightness of its tone. With a reserve slightly haughty and arrogant, its lips deny themselves, restricting the compass of the vocal organ. But the variety of its short vowels does not suffer, while the diphthongs and the long vowels, prolonged by a kind of echo, enrich the mellowness of the verse with their sonorousness, and give to the intonation of speech a musical rhythm which is heightened by the alternation of accented and unaccented syllables. Thus English has been able, alike in its metre and in its vocabulary, to unite to the Germanic tradition the innovations of the Romance languages, and to profit both from the accentual suppleness of Old English and from the syllabic rigour of French prosody' (Huchon, *L'Histoire de la langue Anglaise*, Introduction)

155. A Danish opinion. Finally, a summary of Jespersen's views on English may be given. The English language is positively and expressly masculine, the language of a grown-up man, with little that is childish or feminine about it. The consonants are well defined, clearly and precisely pronounced. Each consonant belongs distinctly to its own type, and is not modified by surrounding vowels. The vowels are also clear cut. It is a speech of vigour and energy. There are many words with two or three consonants in a group, presupposing a considerable amount of energy on the part of the speaker. Grammar has got rid of many superfluities. There is not the unnecessary multiplication of one sign as is seen in the German sentence, *alle die jenigen wilden there die dort leben*. There is a gain in force by reducing so many words to monosyllables. The language favours abbreviated expressions, e.g. dinner over, he left the house. The Englishman's speech is sober, he does not indulge in hyperbole, he does not commit himself to enthusiasm or emotion. Nor has he many

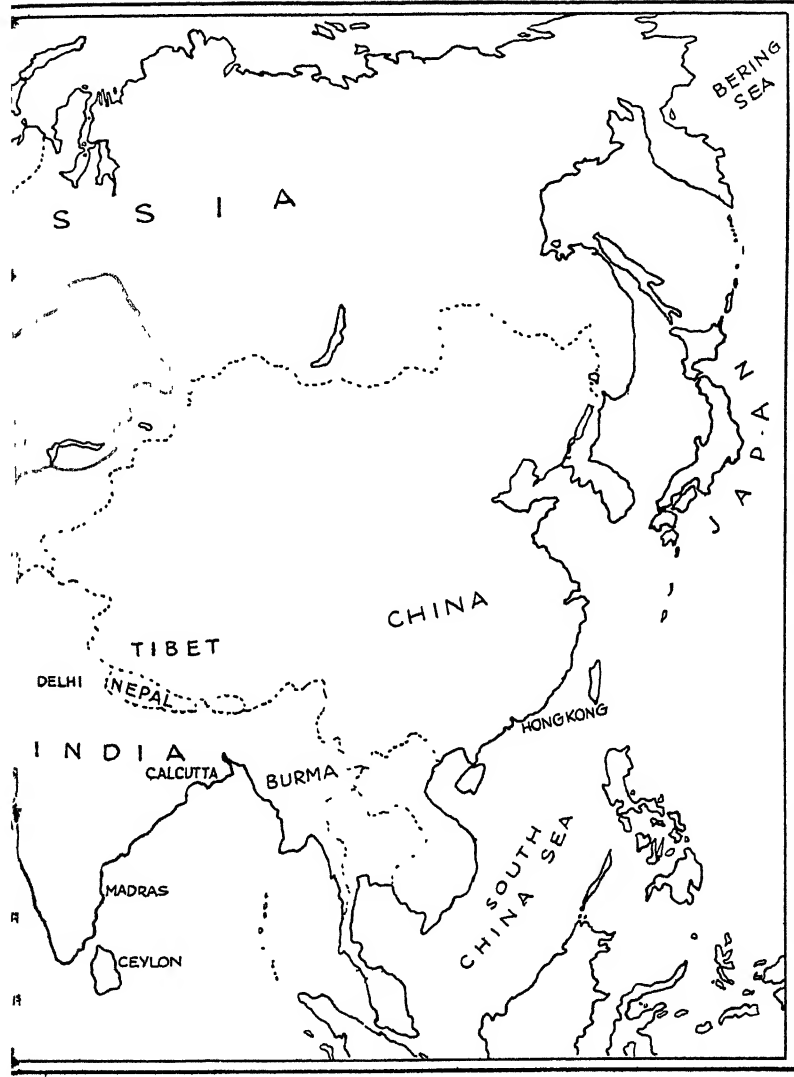
diminutives, and he employs them sparingly. English has a fixed word order; the words do not play hide and seek in the sentence; the auxiliary is to be found near its main verb, the adjective beside its noun, and the adverb following its verb; the negative accompanies the word it negatives. In the matter of fixed word order the development has been steady, from Beowulf with sixteen per cent, Alfred with forty per cent, Shelley eighty-nine per cent, Dickens ninety-one per cent to Pinero with ninety-seven per cent. English is, in fact, achieving the rigidity of Chinese in the matter of word order. Inversion is very sparingly used, and never without the most excellent justification. English is unique in one respect: it has developed the progressive tenses, I write, I am writing, I wrote, I was writing; all according to a uniform system. Above all there is little grammatical pedantry. We find:—the club all know the facts; the Quarterly are going to review me; I snatched a quiet twenty minutes; it will become another United States; three years is but a brief period; ten minutes is heaps of time. We also find:—a puffy little man with a say-nothing-to-me-or-I'll-contradict-you sort of countenance. There is no academy for vocabulary in England, as there is in France and Italy, although Addison advocated one. English is, in short, a methodical, businesslike, and sober language, which does not care much for finery and elegance, but does care for logical consistency, and is opposed to any attempt to restrict expression by strict regulations and severe rules either of grammar or of lexicon. (Summarized from Jespersen's *Growth of the English Language*.)

156. The empire of English. It has been calculated that there are nineteen hundred millions of people on the earth. Of these, four hundred and fifty millions are in the British Empire, while one hundred and twenty millions populate the United States of America and its possessions. Thus for five hundred and seventy millions of people

English is an official language. It is the official language of upwards of seventy separate governments in the British Empire and in the United States. To an increasing extent it is becoming the language of diplomacy and of the League of Nations. It has the best claim of all to be called the international language of the world.



TH



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